

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS
of the
AFRICAN COMPANIES

Collected by
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INTRODUCTION

These documents were extracted from the Records of the African Companies in London by Miss Ruth A. Fisher. They are from the papers of the Treasury and the Colonial Office. They appear here in the form of extracts which are in no sense intended as exhaustive of any particular phase of history, but as showing the value of an almost unexploited store of information bearing on a most important aspect of the commercial expansion of Europe. It is believed, too, that these extracts herein presented will stimulate interest and attract attention to the historical and anthropological aspects of this conquest of Africa.

These extracts from the Records of the African Companies have several claims to value. They show the method of approach in opening the African trade, the effort to monopolize it, the international contest for control of the traffic, the manner in which the natives were brought into it, and the institutions of the natives thus reached. The special reason for the publication of these documents is the light which they throw on the natives themselves.

Valuable as these Records of the African Companies may seem, however, they have not been extensively used by investigators as has been the case with the records of other trading companies of the British Empire like that of the East India. This neglect, as Mr. Hilary Jenkinson has pointed out, may be due to the dissimilarity in fortune. The natives of Africa differed more widely from those of Europe than did those of India, and the trade of India was more profitable than that of Africa. As the African trader found no manufactures to supplement his natural products, he endeavored to recoup

¹ The African Companies herein referred to are not all of the corporations trading in Africa at that time, but only those established by the English.

his losses through the slave trade. This served as a source of wealth for a while, but, when it was abolished by the humanitarians, the African trade paled into insignificance when compared with that of India.

When the African trade was at its best, however, it attracted the attention of Europe and America. All modern nations sought this trade. The Portuguese were the first interlopers. They were in West Africa in 1442. They reached Sierra Leone in 1448, and Senegal and Gambia in 1455. Through these Europeans Negroes reached Portugal as early as 1450. By 1481 the Portuguese were trying to monopolize the African trade and sent an embassy to England to assert their sovereign right in Guinea. For this purpose they had built their first fort on the West Coast of Africa. It is said that the Spanish entered upon this trade in 1502, and in 1517 Charles V had an agreement with the Portuguese to furnish slaves. The English started upon this trade in 1553, going to Guinea and Benin, and they made other voyages during the next few years. William Towerson made a voyage for the English in 1577 under the patronage of the Crown; but Queen Elizabeth had fitted out such an African expedition as early as 1560. There were other voyages made by the English in 1564, 1565, and 1566. Into this trade came Sir John Hawkins in 1562, and the traffic had been so stimulated by 1565 that there followed a fight with the Portuguese. The Portuguese traders defeated their English rivals by 1582, and in 1588 the English had to turn their attention to Benin, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Senegal.

The Sovereign of England became further interested in the trade and granted letters patent to merchants for its thorough exploitation. By persons thus commissioned colonies were established in America. A more advanced step was taken in 1618 in authorizing what is called the Governor and Company of Adventurers of London trading into the parts of Africa, but neither this nor its successor prospered. These efforts were followed by the grant of a charter to a more efficiently organized corporation in 1662 known as the Royal Adventurers, trading into Africa. This was reorganized in 1672 as the

Royal African Company and given a monopoly of the slave trade. After the concession made by the Spanish in the Asiento of the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 the African trade reached its highest point as is evidenced by the well-kept records now available.

The possibilities for research into these records are various. In the first place, there is the slave trade. Of this the world has learned much through the works of Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, Adam Smith, Thomas Day, Goodwyn, Ramsey, Burke, Pitt, Necker, and Montesquieu. All of these did not have the same attitude. Some of them were humanitarians, some extremists, some anti-abolitionists, and some students of the question from an economic point of view.

The Negro himself as a factor in the trade has never been scientifically studied, although he was the object of most concern. The documents abound with references of this sort. A pamphlet published by the company in 1709 said Negroes are the "best traffick this country hath" and it justified the trade on the ground that the Negroes were "taken out of a state of unenlightenment." The traders did not consider the trade wrong. Along with orders for the conduct of the traffic came numerous moral instructions such as the observance of daily prayers, forbidding profane language, and abstaining from excessive drinking. The traders went into the business on a large scale and destroyed or brought to untimely death as many natives as they enslaved. A document of the company of 1679 reports: "We received order from Mr. Thos. Thurloe (says a letter of 1679 from Virginia) to take into care the Refuge Negroes for the Royal African Company and to dispose of them for the best, which we shall doe. . . . truly they are a sad parcell some of them soe old others soe Infirme that it is a shame that such Negroes should be shipped aboard which serve only to anoy and destroy them of better value."

A study of these methods, therefore, throws much light on various questions. As stated above, however, we are especially interested in what these documents have to say

about the natives themselves. By 1744 there were nearly forty European settlements on the West Coast of Africa. This made possible considerable contact with Europeans who in communicating with the home country, recorded their impressions of the natives. The natives were their chief concern, and they could not escape their official or personal notice. Approaching the natives at first diplomatically to get a foothold on the coast, the Europeans were much more solicitous of them than they are today when they can subdue them by methods of destructive warfare. The Europeans had to treat with them for land to build their first forts. They had to present them with gifts to secure their good will so necessary for trade. They interceded in behalf of those friendly to the Europeans and set one tribe against the other. The traders embittered every tribe they could against others of a different nation who might interfere with their traffic. Europeans finally abetted wars among the tribes and profited by disposing of captives in such conflicts. All of these transactions required numerous palavers and negotiations which brought into permanent record valuable ethnological and anthropological data which may be used today in constructing a picture of Africa before it was thoroughly contaminated by the slave traders and before the ancient customs were disturbed or its primitive civilization destroyed.

In the study of these documents, however, the student must bear in mind that in recording their impressions of the natives the Europeans proceeded by comparison. In that day the scientific attitude was not known. What seemed like European culture pleased the European. What seemed like African culture did not impress him favorably. Furthermore, Africans herein referred to as wicked and treacherous were those who resisted the encroachment of the Europeans. Those Africans who easily yielded to the demands of the interlopers were the "greatest people in the land." A "good Negro" then as a "good Negro" today was one who did what the Caucasian told him to do. To do otherwise meant the forfeit of all claims to the consideration given "most loyal subjects."

CARTER G. WOODSON

ABSTRACT OF LETTERS RECEIVED BY THE ROYAL AFRICAN
COMPANY OF ENGLAND SO FAR AS RELATE TO THE
COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, No. 1, MARCH
15, 1677, TO FEBRUARY 8, 1682

MR. THOMAS THURLOES DATED 28th MAY 1678.

"I thinke it more convenient to keepe 2 or 3 Sloops continually trading up & down this river then to settle ffactory's for a ffactor once Settled a Shoare is absolutely under the Comānd of the King of the Country where he lives, and liable for the least displeasure to loose all the goods he hath in his possession with danger also of his life besides in case of mortallity it is very difficult to recover of the Negroes any thing that was in the hands of y^e deceased whereas in a Sloop if the Factor die the Vessell is soone brought down to the Island and if he find no teade in one Port may goe to another and not be lyable to sell their Goods at the pleasure of the Kings besides a Sloop will be in the way of all Canoes w^{ch} come down to the River and they will rather sell what they have there then be at the trouble to come to the Islands when it may be they would passe by a Factory knowing that if they goe ashoare they must pay duties either to the Master of the Town, or to the King or both.¹

FROM THE MEMORANDUM BOOK KEPT AT CAPE COAST CASTLE
FROM JANUARY 13, 1703, TO JANUARY 2, 1704

170 3/4 Feb. 4.

A Complaint was brought before the Generall that quashoo a black Carpenter one of y^e Company's Slaves had sold his Wife's Son named Braboo on board a 10 P C Ship.

The fact was prov'd against quashoo & against a woman in the Towne who being sent for declared that Braboo's mother (lately dead) was her Slave & Consequently Braboo & 3 Children more whom she had by Quashoo to whome She was Consaived by her Mistress, after y^e Death of Braboo's father. But some brought A testimony that Braboo himselfe was given for Slave to Quashoo when he Consaivd the mother.

The Generall sent a Letter to y^e Comd^{or} of y^e Dolphin & a Slave desireing him to Exchange Braboo, who had been sold y^t morning after some nicetyes he Consented to y^e Exchange & Braboo was brought to y^e Generall — —

¹ T. 70/10.

upon Inquiry it Appeard that Braboo was sent to Peter Quashoo^s house the Linguester by the Black Carpenter & the other woman Peter gave him his Cane for a passport & p^rtended to send him to a Consort of his who lives at Compoint in the way 4 of Peeters men & some others met Braboo, bound him carryed him to Compoint & from thence before day light to y^e 10 C^t Ship y^e Dolphin Capt Besswarver Comd^r at an Ancho^r in this Roade where he was sold for three ounces two Akys in gold. The Generall ordered that Peter Quashoo who had received that mony should bring it to him & a man Slave besides. Such one as was given in Exchange for Braboo and that Peeter Quashoo should bring before him those four men of his who had bound & sold Braboo.

It was ordered further that Braboo who belonging to a Compa Slave had furthermore been redeemed on this Occation should remaine one of y^e Companys Slaves & that Quashoo y^e Carpenter and two daughters of his who were detected should be Confinde in the Castle amongst the Slaves.

Upon w^{ch} Quashoo begged pardon, brought his two Daughters to the Generall and one son & desired that they should be received in the number of y^e Comapany's Slaves acknowledging himself and his Chillardren to belong Lawfully to the Company he declared that he had one little Son more, who was at pawn for some mony he owed that he would bring him Alsoe—Braboo own'd himselfe likewise Willingly & wth returne of thanks to y^e Generall to belong to the Compa: to who he ownd this present released & desired that he might have y^e Entertainment & prerogative of y^e Compa: Slaves at Cape Coast.²

Feb. 7, 170 3/4.

Returnd Ashooreny out of y^e Arcanys Country & wth him a Messenger from y^e Cheife Cabbash^r their to the Generali to whom they send word that Quameno Coffee is he who disturbs the traders that come from their Country, that they desire in Case Aquomeno doth not agree to make up friendly the palabra they have now wth him & to let the traders have a free way & passage to those parts that the Generall will direct them & they will fall upon him & brake their way thro & then y^e Generall may be Assured the wayes being Cleared they will bring a great trade & large quantity of Gold to this place—the Generall desired the Messenger to stay here til y^e Comeing of John Cabess who he sent for.

² T. 70/1463.

On Feb. 11, 170 3/4:

Sent Coffee a Companys Slave & Yabbah his Wife to Aurad where he is to be Gold taker.

On Feb. 12, 170 3/4:

Sent on board y^e Mary Briggateen Capt. Osbourn Comm^{dr} Braboo a Compa Slave to be his Gold taker.

On Feb. 14 170 3/4:

Sailed y^e Intelligence Capt Merchbanks Comd. to Winnabah to fetch her Ladeing of Oyster Shells.

Feb. 17 170 3/4:

The Cabbash^r of Cape Coast brought before the Gen^l a palabra against Capt Hamlin for haveing Carried away some years agoe & sould in the West Indies a Canoeman of their Towne & said if he did not give them Sattisfaction they would panyar him ashoare whereof they came to Acq^{tt} y^e Generall.

The Generall told them he must be more perticuler Informed of y^e Case that he might do wright on all Sides.

Capt. Hamlin who was on Shoare was sent for he Answered to y^e Charge that he Carried away a black Canoomen, for running ke & other Canooman from his Shipp where he had hired them, wth a Canoe belonging to him (the cap^t) w^{ch} they did stave to peices upon the Shoar; for Attempting upon another Occation to drowne him to rob About a hundred pounds of Gold he had in his pockitt, the damidge of w^{ch} Canoe some other Debts owed to him amounted to four Ounces; & being not Sattisfyed of that Sum he therefore Carried away that man: that before he went from Cape Coast he acquainted M^{rs}. Newte Gore & Strooman their Chiefs, of the whole matter & they not only Consented, but told him he Should Carry a way the man since he did give him noe Sattisfaction, that he was at Anamaboo many dayes after thatt & did not Scruple to Carry him a way since noe body endeavourd to sattisfie for him so that the Canoomen concern'd in y^e fact Answered that they did not run away but Came on Shoare for victualls that Capt. Hamlin's Canoe was Staved in goeing to Save an Englishman of another Ship who was drow(n)ing that after that Capt. Hamlin tooke those very Canoomen to his Service to goe wth him to Alampo & promis^d to release their Consort whom he had fast in Chaines & to let him return wth them after he had done his Business so that they had not y^e least Aprehension he should be Carried away.

The Generall told them that y^e Case being determined before

the then Cheifs at Cape Coast, it was not to be brought in Question any more—The Cabbash^{rs} Answered, they heard that it was determined then & that they were not Called to it, neither by the Cheife^s of Cape Coast not by y^e Capt & that the very Canoomen did not then make any Complaint about it because they thought after some detention he was to be released.

The Generall blamed the Cabbash^{rs} for not making their Application to y^e Cheifs of Cape Coast, or at least the Canoeman should have done it: Blamed allsoe Capt. Hamlin for not acquainting y^e Cabbasheirs or Causeing them to be sent for before the Cheifs that the Cause might be determined in their presence—& since it was Difficult to have a true information of y^e fact, the one asserting the other denying the same thing, he would Advise them all to make an agrement freindly both parties rem'tted y^e whole matter to y^e Generall. Capt. Hamlin shewed himselfe willing to give something to y^e Cabashh^{rs} to be Cleare of them, so that y^e Generall persuaded them to make it up for y^e Sum of four ounces of gold w^{ch} the Capt is to pay them in Goods & they went all away Satisfied.

On Feb. 17:

Returned Obboo (Sent to Quomino Coffee the 28 last) severall of Quomino people came also wth him—their Master sent word to the Generall by them that Beadoosha Consen to y^e King of fetoo was discovered to be y^e person who Seized y^e Arcany Merchants & their goods that he did live hard by y^e King's towne were he sent him a Messenger at y^e Arrivall of y^e Generalls man upon w^{ch} Beadoosha sent word to Coffee that on Acc^o of y^e Generalls Cane (that is y^e Badge Messengers carry when sent to any place) he returned two of the Arcany people he had Seized—

Beadoosha said that he had not taken from y^e Arcanys two & twenty Bendys as they Complained of that all that he had from them was only ten Bendys w^{ch} he would returne to Quomino Coffee as for y^e rest he said that Arcany people that Escaped run away wth it in y^e Woods and stole it. Quomino Coffee said he would not receive anything except Beadoosha did pay y^e two & twenty bendys lost.

Coffee sent word to y^e Generall that he would be ready at all times to doe him all y^e Service that lay in his power the Generall Comended Quomino Coffee for haveing acted like a man of honour in this Occation & told his people he should be glad to se him at Cape Coast they answered they had order to assure him that quomino Coffee did intend to wait on y^e Generall.

The Arcany Cabash^{rs} Oretain was sent for to whom y^e Generall returned the two younge men that Beadoosha had delivered & Complained that his Consort Akkai who went from Cape Coast fourt night agoe on pretence to Inquire in this Affair had not sent him a word of notice tho Beadoosha towne about w^{ch} he could not but have Information of it seing he hath a house himselfe not far from it, is not above two or three hours travelling from Cape Coast. Oretain answered he was sorry he could give no reason for it, & he did likewise Complaine of Y^e same & the more because Akkai had received alsoe from Beadoosha two men more of y^e people that were paniard—The Generall desired Coffees messengers to stay here two or 3 days in w^{ch} time he Expects Jn^o Cabees to discourse about these matters.

On Feb. 18:

Missed two Slaves from y^e tower either Stole or run a way.

On Feb. 19:

Some people from Comenda brought another Complaint against Capt. Hamlin for Carrying away two men from thence.

Sent Akaii to Invite y^e King of Seboo to meete Jn^o Cabosa here in two or 3 days.

On Feb. 21:

Returned Akaii & brought word that y^e King of Seboo could come but in a fourt night's time.

On Feb. 23:

Came to an Anch^o y^e Intelligence Capt Marchbanks wth her loading of Oyster Shells from Winnabah.

On Feb. 24, :

Were sent away the 3 Messengers of Quomeno Coffee the Generall gave them a Cloth a peice & some rum & presented their Master wth an Anch^r of rum & a Widdah Cloth & recommended him to be very kind to all traders that come to C C thro his Country or that goe of from hence wth goods w^{ch} they will know by y^e Companys marke upon P petts & c & to give no disturbance or hinderence to any Such.

Quamenoe Coffee was alsoe desired to make Inquiry for one Quogw a Compa Slave that has been detaineid severall years in the Cabestoras Country by one boquiam & to have him returnd here.

Was sent away a Messenger that came from the Arkany Country y^e Generall sent by him to 3 of the principall Cabb^{rs} there 3 Cases of Spirits & 3 P petts to Conforme them to y^e Interest of y^e R A. C

of England & to Encourage them to encrease the trade between their Country & this Castle.

On Feb. 25:

Came a Complaint to y^e Generall that Y^e boats Crew of Capt. Faulkingham Comd^r of y^e Success a 10 P C^t Ship of Barbadoes were panyard by y^e Anamaboo people upon Acc^o of Cap^t Hamlin Comd^r of y^e William & Elizabeth a 10 P C^t Ship, his carrying a way some time agoe a man from their towne. Jn^o Cabess who was here at the same time at y^e Genera^ls desire sent a man to y^e Cabba^r to have Cap^t ffaulkingham's men discharged and Peeter Quashee the Castles Linguester was sent upon that Arrand.

On Feb 28:

y^e King of Aquasso said the Dutch had a designe of settling upon y^e hill nigh Commenda Castle but that he would never permit them to do it.

On Feb. 28;

Came from Alampo Dozud y^e Black brick layer.

On March 13:

Was returned by y^e King of Seboo a man Slave who made his Escape y^e 18th Last, & was taken by one of his people in his Country.

On March 1:

Say a Company Slave Seized last night a man that had panyard 3 women Slaves belonging to Jn Cabess and was going to Carry them aboard. the Generall ordered the man to be Chained in y^e Castle & The Women to be sent to Jn^o Cabess againe.

170 3/4

On March 2:

Came Coffee a Compa Slave linguister at A. Lumpo

March 15:

Came to an Anchor y^e Roy: Afr: Comp. Chip y^e Intelligence from Dixcove with her loading of Timber.

feb. 24—Said the intelligence Capt. Marchbanks to Carry her loading of Oyster Shells part to Comenda part to Dixcove where She is to Loade timber for y^e use of this Castle.

On March 16 170 3/4

[The Dutch have been trying to get possession of a hill near the English settlement in order to build a fort]

Returned Mr. Brown & D^r. Mitchell from Comenda from whence

y^e King of Aquaffo was gone when they arrived, but left one of his men to tell Mr. Brown he was sorry he could not stay till his Coming w^{ch} a Messenger had informed him of before hand being called in all haste to go to Shemah, to make up y^e differences between y^e wasaas and Adooms who were in warr one against y^e other & had sent him word they were both ready to submit to his terms for a reconciliation if he would come there, by y^e same man Mr. Brown sent him notice of y^e occasion of his coming & informed him besides, y^t y^e Dutch Generall had a paper w^{ch} he pretended was signed by y^e said King & his Chief Cabess hieres, whereby, he said y^e King had sold him y^e forementioned hill, & all y^e ground from it, to y^e river Bolsumpra & had granted him to build a fort upon it.

The King returned for Answer by another express y^t he had never agreed to any such things & desired Mr. Brown would excuse his not Coming now to him, being upon very urgent business, & y^e Dutch Generall being likewise at present with him at Shemak, whom he did not care should know anything, nor take any pretens to be present at y^e Conference, he intended with him upon y^e matter: he promised he would, with in few days after he had concluded y^e business he was about give notice to Ca: Coast, of y^e day he would without failing come to Comenda on p(ur)pose upon this affair & desired Earnestly, y^t Mr. Brown would come again at y^t time to meet him there.

On March 17:

Was dispatched y^e Intelligence Capt Marchbank Comm^r to carry some goods & fetch her loading of Corn from Tantum quarry & sailed in y^e night.

Run away two men Slaves.

On March 19:

Came a letter from John Cabess y^t y^e King of Aquaffo was come to Comenda to meet wth M^r Brown there & would stay two days for his Coming.

On March 20:

Were sent accordingly M^r Brown & D^r. Mitchell y^t night, & returned y^e next day in y^e Evening at meeting wth y^e King M^r Brown told him the Generall for y^e Roy: Afr: Comp: of England found it strange y^t he having been made King by y^e Interest of y^e English, he would now side y^e Interest of y^e Dutch so far, as to Endeavour to put them in possession of a hill Just by y^e Roy: Afr: Comp's fort w^{ch} doth belong to them & they would defend if

he did not, he told him again, of y^e paper y^e Dutch Generalls pretends to have under his hand, y^e King denyed y^t he ever sold it, as mentioned by y^e relation y^t was given him of y^e Dutch General's, shewing a paper of y^t Kind to Dr. Mitchell on y^e 28 of y^e last Month, when at y^e Mine, tho he said y^e Dutch Generall had sometime ago asked him leave to dig a large Stone out of y^t hill, which he had granted him & nothing else, he professed farther, y^t as long as he lives, he will never permit y^e Dutch so much as to walk upon y^t hill, whereof he did offer to take a fetish, promising upon all y^t is said to be faithfull to y^e Roy: Afr: Comp: of Englands Interest he did give his word he would send to Cape Coast y^e traders y^t come from Dankera thro his Country, he onely desired y^e Generall for y^e Roy: afr: Comp: would not publish y^t he doth send them, he said he was obliged to turn again presently to Shemah, & after he had made an end . y^e Business he was about there, he would come & see y^e Generall at Cape Coast.

On March 21:

Came a Messenger from Quomino Coffee to the Generall to acquaint him, y^t at his desire quomino Coffee had Cauted Beadoosha who had desired y^e goods of y^e Arcany Merch^{ts}. to return y^e whole; & by the Consent of Tattain one of those Merch^{ts}. Concerned in y^e Loss of y^e goods it was agreed y^t one bendy should remain in y^e hands of out of y^e Value of y^e said goods as a present.

The made a promise in y^e name both of Coffee & beadoosha, to be very assistant & kind to all trad^{ers} Coming from or going to Cape Coast or al^l other of y^e Roy: Afr: Comp's factory's & would always have a peticular regard, when they found y^e Company's Mark upon y^e goods transported.

They brought y^e Generall a present of two Sheep from two of y^e Chief Cabesshiers of quomino Coffee.

On March 22—170 3/4

The Generall dismissed y^e Messenger of quomino Coffee & gave them a gun & an Anchor of rum to Carry as present from him to their Master returning him thanks for his diligence & assistance towards y^e recovery of y^e goods Beadosha had panyard from y^e Arkany Merch^{ts}. y^e Generall gave also a Pintado to y^e Messengers themselves, & presented y^e two Cabesshiers, who sent him two Sheep, wth 3 yards of red Cloaths Each, & two sheets to y^e two Serv^{ts} y^t brought them.

On April 5:

Demands made of the Dutch by S^r Dalby Thomas—Generall at Cape Coast Castle

—One Prince alias Aurikoow a false negro Servant of the Roy: Afr: Comp: of England at their Castle of Winnebah, where he occasioned trouble against the said Company, & is at the Mine to sollicite the Dutch to settle at Barracoo or Sanya

The several Demands were made to the Generall of the mine, who refused

To deliver up Prince alias Aurikoow, who he did say was then in his Castle of the Mine & it was true that he was solicited to Resettle att Barracoo.

On Aprill 12:

Was brought for a pawn by his father, a Canoeman born at the Mine named Aninghan about 35 Years of Age.

On Aprill 12:

Was sent Peter Quashee with 40 Armed men in Canoes to Baracoo point, where he is to land in y^e night to Seize Prince alias Aurikoo a Negroe Servant of the Company who hath been treacherous & hath recd bribes from the Dutch to disturb the Companys trade, upon notice by a letter from Mr. Snow Chief att Winnebah that three Dutch men were landed att Baracoo with Prince, to settle again there.

Came notice in y^e afternoon that y^e King of Fettue was dead and in the Evening Came the Deij of Fettue to acquaint himself the generall of it & with him a woman mother to one whom they are about to make king. The Deij was wellcome with 5 guns.

On Aprill 14:

Came notice by an Express from Mr. Snow that the Seizing of Prince had Miscaryed, he making his Escape, that Peter Quashee was wounded in the Shoulder and Another man killed.

Sent Snow to y^e Queen of Anguina to the Generall & Woosicoe to tell them from the Generall that if they do not turn away the Dutch from Baracoo & deliver up Prince he will make warr against them.

On Aprill 17:

Came the King of Saboo, after some Conferences with The Generall and John Cabess about whom should succeed the King of fetoo, the Generall named Aqua brafo, The woman who came there with The Deij of fetoo, to be queen, & it was accordingly so agreed upon, She and the deij went away that night to fetoo—Went away the King of Saboo.

On April 19:

Was sent Ashreevy to y^e Braffo fanteen & Cane with a present of a fine Cloath to know from the Generall how he was disposed as to y^e raising of a warr against the queen & Kingdom of Anguina for their treachery to y^e Roy: Afr: Comp^y: of England in bringing the Dutch to settle at Baracoo or Sanya, which belongs to y^e Company.

Went away John Cabess, his men in their March paniard some women of y^e town & Carried them away, Complaint was made by the Cabesshiers to the Generall, who sent to John to return them again to Cape Coast, and if he had done that about debts or any other occasion, he should have made his Aplication to him & whatever it was he would see right done to him by the town.

On April 21:

Returned y^e messenger y^e Generall sent after John Cabess, y^e 19th & brought back y^e paniard women, John sent word that his men had done it without his knowledge.

On April 24:

Came a Messenger from John Cabess to Inform y^e Generall that a Number of y^e Dutch Company Slaves have been sent armed from y^e Mine to Secundee in two Dutch Ships.

On April 24:

Came back Ashreevy from y^e Braffo fanteen, who was very well pleased with y^e present & hath sent Messengers to Agamboo, Winnebah & other places, to the Chief men of his acquaintance, to bring them in y^e Interest of y^e Roy: Afr: Com^y: & to Ingage them against y^e Kingdom of Anquina, if they persist in their treachery against y^e Company.

On April 25:

Came a messenger from y^e braffo fanteen and presented y^e Generall with a goat, y^e Braffo sent him word that his Messengers were not returned yet; he desired y^e Generall would not act anything in y^e matter of Anquina but that he would please to Inform him of it and advise with him, promising that, tho his Messengers did not bring from those he had sent them to such an answer as he did expect to y^e purpose in hand he would take y^e whole business upon himself, & have it Effectuated to y^e General's desire.

On April 26:

The Generall dismissed y^e Messenger of y^e Braffo with a P sent of an Anchor of rum to their Master & told them to thank him in

his name for y^e Inclination he shewed to suport y^e Interest of y^e Roy: Afr: Comp: of England, for which he would miss no opportunity to give him real tokens of his friendship; that if y^e Brafo would on his part incourage trade in y^e town he lives in, he would keep a factory there, & send goods to be sold, which he did think would be much to the benefit of y^e brafo & his town & further, provided y^e Brafo would give a house for that purpose, & fit to keep a man & the goods in, he would allow something upon every parcel of goods disposed of to the benefit of y^e Brafo.

On May 2:

Came a Boy from Peter Passop, to The Generall to complain that (contrary to the Complaint of the Cabishires, of Cape Coast the 23^d past) One Akran, of Cape Coast Town, had panyard a Rowle of Tobacco, from a Boy of his; W^{ch} Boy he had sent wth a Young Slave, to sell att the Castle of Cape Coast but the said Akran put One of his Servants, upon Carrying the Slave aboard of A Portu- guese Brigantine in the Road to sell him there, w^{ch} He did for A Rowle of Tobacco and brought it on Shore and then took it Away from him.

Akran was sent for, who pretended he knew nothing of his Servants paniarring the Tobacco; The Servant was sent for, & put in Irons, for Selling the Slave any where then Att the Castle; And Akran Ordered to find the Rowle of Tobacco Immediately: (it Appeareing that the Fact was not without his Knowledge) & dismiss'd Peter Passops Boy till next Day.

The Cabishires of the Town came to intreat the Generall and begg pardon for Akron who did presently bring the said Rowle: Att the Request of the Cabishires the Serv^t (who is Akran's Slave) was released; The General reserved to himself the calling Akran to a more perticular Amount being in y^e Companys Pay of A long Time.

On May 2 170 3/-

Came Notice by Ashrivy that Two Arkany Men who came to visit the Generall, upon the acco^t of settling Trade, & who were dispatched y^e 28th and departed hence y^e 30 Aprill, had been paniarred in Abrambooes Country by the King of Aquaffoes people and Two Men more sent by the Dey of Fetoo (thro whose Country they passed) to conduct them as farr as theire Borders.

The Generall sent Ashrivy to the King of Aquaffoe about it, and to tell him, to release immediately those Men and that any body comeing to, or from Cape Coast, was not to be hurt, on any Account by any Kings of the Countrey thro w^{ch} they passed: Especially

those as are friends to the Roy^l. Affrican Company, and Much Less by him, or by his people he being made King by the Companys Servants, And haveing att Severall times ingaged his Promise, to be faithfull to y^e Interest of the Royall Affrican Company and very lately renew'd the same, when Mr. Brown was Att Commenda and ingaged to send the Dankera traders to Cape Coast: but this panyaring speaks the quite Contrary: Further that by this, the Abrambors would in all probability, bring a Warr upon him, if those Men were not releas'd, and the Generall should be Oblig'd to take theire part in this Case, But as he desir'd to have Peace & Quietness, and trade wth Every body, he hop'd that he (The King of Quambo) would order them without Delay to be releas'd. The Generall ordered also Ashreevy to goe to John Cabess, and to tell the whole Matter to him, Adding to him in peticular, that the King of Aquaffoo, was indebted of great Sums to the Royall Affrican Company of England, of a long time and if this was his way of Using them, notwithstanding theire not pressing for Payment, he would now make him pay that Debt.

The Generall sent Affran to the Braffo of ffanteen to tell him he had Letters from y^e Chiefe of Winnebah advising that the Queen of Anquina, Wornoe & Other's when they were told of his Resolution of bringing Warr upon them, Except they did deliver Prince, and turn Out y^e Dutch from Barracoo, Answered that they did not care nor feare it, And that the Dutch were About to build A fort, Att Baracoo, alias Sanya, and they would help them to do it; Therefore the Generall sent word of it to the Braffoe, to know what Answere he had by the Messengers, he had sent About that Matter, And what he thought, concerning this last Advice.

On May 3:

Came Peter Passops Boy about the Rowle of Tobacco Yesterday Mentioned to whom the Generall returned the same, and told him, to tell his Master, if ever he rec'd any wrong from Any of This Town, he Ought to complin to him and to any other, and he would have him righted.

On May 4:

Sayled out of the road the Lucitania Capt. Jno. Hayes Comand^r: for Annamaboo to take in Corn there.

On May 6:

Returned Affran from the Braffoe Fanteen (where sent the 2^d Inst: and brought word to the Generall, That the Messengers

sent to the Queen of Enquina &c^a were not returned yet: that he had given them Order in Case The Queene would not agree to turn Out the Dutch from Barracoo &c^a to goe from thence to y^e King of Quamboos to bring him upon the Anquina's, soe he beleived by the Messengers staying soe long, that they were gone thither he said that all the Ground from Barracoo to Winnebah belongs to the English, and he will make the King of Quamboos drive the Dutch away from Baracoo, if the Anquinas will not doe it: He desired the Generall would send him Word, if he hears anything about that Matter, and he will allsoe doe the like to him, and advise him as soon as his Messengers, are come back.

On May 8:

Came the Brafsoe Fanteen's sonn to y^e Generall to tell him that his Messengers were return'd from y^e Queen of Anguina who sent him Word, that she knew he was in y^e Interest of y^e English: She lik'd very well his concerning himself in that Matter between the Royall Affrican Company & her self, and that for a small Acknowledgement, of Something presented to her, she would turn out y^e Dutch, from Baracoo, and he sayd that small Matter was Two Cases of Spirits & Eight Perpets w^{ch} he (y^e Braffoe) desired the Generall to send to him, & he did not doubt but she would comply, and if she did not, he would fall upon her Country and turn out y^e Dutch himself from Barracoo.

The Generall sent him Accordingly the two Cases of Spirits and 8 Perpets, and presented him for himself Two Anchours of Rumm, & some Orange Water, & dismiss'd his Sonn wth thanks to y^e Braffoe, for his Freindshipp &c^a.

Came Ashreevy from y^e King of Aguoffee (where sent y^e 2^d Inst: and wth him a Messenger the King sent to y^e Generall wth this Answer, That it was not he had panyard y^e Arkany Men Comfamoo (A Cabisheere Liveing in his Countrey) had done it for some Money due to him by y^e King of Arcania. he had Nothing to doe in the Matter soe refus'd to use his Power to have them released.

A Komfamoo was present, when y^e King of Aquoffo gave y^e same Answer to Ashreevy, said that Apeppe King of the Arkany's (of w^{ch} Country he was himself & had come to live in the Aquoffoes Country) was in his Debt, & upon this Acco^t of the said King, he had panyard those Men and would not release them, Except he had Satisfacton. The Names of those two Arkany Men panyar'd are Adoo pempoo & Breow.

(The Generall sends word back by the Messenger that having come to Cape Coast to trade, he had returned them as his own Messengers and they were then to be immediately released, or he should find it convenient to have them released by another method.)

On May 10:

Came a Messenger from Quomino Coffees Brother, who sent him to y^e Generall wth a present of a sheep, and to discourse wth him upon the Account of Trade:

On May 13:

(The Generall ordered the Wives of the Arcany Cabbishers who were in town brought with their things into the Castle, also the servants.)

On May 23:

Happened a Riseing of y^e Negroes On board The Tyger Gally. Capt. Ralph Ash Comand^r: A 10 P Cent They got y^e Fire Arms & kill'd 4 Men, of y^e Shipp people, and Two mortally wounded, About fourty Negroes, were kill'd.

On May 24:

Came a Messenger from the Braffoe Fanteen, who assures The Generall, The Dutch will be speedily turnd out of Sanya, or Barocoo, But sayes that ffour Bendys must be given among y^e Queen & others of Anquina, to Effect it.

On May 25:

Came Notice from Accra, by a L^r of M^r Grosvenor's That the King of Quamboos sent him Word that He had given Orders to y^e Anguina's to turn y^e Dutch away from Baracoo, and They have promisoe to doe it And Took a Fetiche upon it.

On May 26:

The Generall Dismiss'd y^e Braffoe of Fanteen's Messenger & sent him the four Bendys wth this Message by Affron, that He doth send him that Summe as He desires, Expecting that y^e Dutch will be removed presently, And also Aurikoo, y^e false Servant to y^e Company deliverd him. For any Delay in this might give the Dutch Opportunity to fortifye themselves, & it would be harder afterwards to turn them out, ffurther That in the Agreemt with the Queen of Enguima (if she complys, she must be told she shall not be payd any Ground Rent, for Winnebah Castle, from the Day, the Dutch first landed Att Baracoo or Sanya, to their Removall from thence, But as soon as the Dutch are turnd out, According to

this Agreement she shall be pay'd, what was, or shall be due, before their settling & after their Removall.

Affran was Order'd to tell that when this Affaire is Over, The Generall will send A man & some Goods to his Town And see what House y^e Braffoe will provide for that Purpose.

On May 29:

Entered himself in y^e Companies service Ichean a Black for One Year to teach some Young Comp^{as} Slaves to be Horn Boyes: And is to have 3^{akey} P M^o. His Pay begins from y^e 27th Inst.

On May 29:

Returnd Asheervy from Aquaffoe (where sent y^e 15th Inst.) And brought wth him the Arcania Men mention'd y^e 8 Inst. Upon which The Generall releas'd All y^e Arcania People kept in the Castle.

On May 31:

Came Affran from y^e Braffoe Fanteen (where sent y^e 26) & brought word to The Generall y^e Braffoe had sent the ffour Bendys to ffour Anguina Cabb^{rs}: who he did not doubt would Comply wth their Promise in turning out y^e Dutch from Baracoo w^{ch} if they did faile in He would send his Men immediately to the King of Quambo, And jointly wth him would Destroy them & y^e Anquina's Countrey.

On June 8:

The same Night some of the Gambo's Took three Women Slaves, by y^e Sea Side, going to be carryed On board the Portugueze Shipp and brought them in y^e Morning to the Generall.

On June 9:

The Man who Own'd The Three Slaves, Came to The Generall, & said He belonged to y^e Mine, and was going wth the said Slaves to Morea, But haveing Evidence, That they were in Effect, going on Board the Portugueze, The Generall would not deliver y^m to him.

On June 9:

Ashereevy gave An Account, to The Generall, That Cry shakai, The Arcanian Cabeshiere, was certainly concern'd, in y^e Paniaring of the Arcania Men (May y^e 2^d) That He heard Akomfamoo say That he had given Eight Ackey's to Cry shakai, That He might let him paniard y^e said Men: And more over, He had given a Bendy to y^e King of Aquaffoe to y^e Same Purpose, and A Bendy to The Generall of Ca: Coast. The Generall sent immediately Ashreevy to the King of Aquaffoe to tell him y^e whole Report, And to oblige him to unriddle it, And that He must bring a Palavra upon Akomfamoo's

Head, for saying so of him, the King of Aquaffoe, supposeing He was not concern'd in that Action and for Saying soe of The Generall, who hath taken so much Paines, to release the said Men: Or to Oblige him to Shew y^e Person who He gave A Bendy to, for The Generall, if any one had been Capable of imposing so farr upon them both.

Sailed out of this Road, to Leward The Queen Cap Tho. Meale Comand^r of London, A 10 P C^t Shipp.

He Carryed off wth him One of y^e Blacks of this Town who was sent on board, by The Cabeshires, to demand theire Custome, for Watering, As all Other Shipp^s pay; Upon w^{ch} They would not Suffer his Boat, that was then A Shore, to goe off, & pannyard his Surgeon & y^e rest of his Men, whom The Generall entertained in The Castle, and Promised the Cabb^{rs} He would send to Cap^t Meale for theire Men.

On June 10:

Came a Letter from Capt. Meale, desireing The Generall to pardon his Error, in Carrying off the Man: Occasion'd only about some Words He had with him, He not knowing the Custome of the Coast: He sent wth it Money, to pay The Cabeshires, and returned the Man, He had Detained: upon which his Boat and men were Released.

Came a Letter from The Generall of the Mine to S^r Dalby Thomas About the Three Women Slaves, who were taken y^e 8 goeing On board the Portugueze, aleding they belonged to a Man of the Mine, named Odouamma who was comeing wth them from Saboo, and passing through Cape Coast; And therefore threatned if They were not Return'd to panyard Six, for Three.

On June 11:

The Generall sent him an Answer, And told him He had been Wrong inform'd, The Slaves, not being brought from Saboo, The Man that Own'd them, haveing told him, He was goeing to Morea, from Saboo, to w^{ch} Place, Cape Coast is altogether out of y^e Way: and He was willing to have that Matter Examin'd into by any Cabb^{rs} of the Countrey, Either of y^e Mine, or Cape Coast, or by any other Method, The Dutch Generall would appoint note Designing to doe Wrong to any Body.

On June 12:

Returnd the Messenger, sent to the Dutch Generall, who brought no Letter, in Answer, but said that Adouamma was with The Dutch Generall when He delivered the Letter, and he had for

Answered that the English Generalls Canoes, and men, Or any of his Servants, passing by, to goe to Commenda, should be pannyard if He did not return y^e Three Weomen Slaves; And Adouamma bid the Messenger tell Our Generall to give Powder to his Servants and Men for He would come and burn Cape Coast Town, and panyard all belonging to him, and a great deale more of Such Discourse, The Dutch Generall, bid y^e Messenger goe, and tell that to his Master.

On June 15:

Was brought by a Black a Runaway Saylour whom He took about Cormantine driven to Leeward.

On June 19:

Engaged himself to y^e Company for a Pawn Cawera a Cannoew-man of Cape Coast for three ounces of Gold which was paid for him to the King of Seboo to home (whom) he was indebted so much, the Generall a Greed with him that when he pais the said sum of three ounces again and a fat Sheep, he shall be free till then, in the mean while he is to attend Dayly the Companys Work for his maintenance when sent to Whidah he is To have half his pay and maintain himself.³

MEMORANDUM BOOK KEPT AT CAPE COAST CASTLE FROM JANUARY 13, 1703, TO JANUARY 2, 1704

Jan. 25, 1703.

The Arkany Cabbash Complain that Quamino Coffee Chief of the Cabesteras Country hath Seized on 30 traders Comeing from the Arcany^s Country wth all their goods the Generall sent a Messenger to Jn^o Caboss that he should inquire on that matter.

Jan. 27.

Came notice from Jn^o Caboss that he sent a messenger wth another from y^e King of Saboo to Quomino Coffee to know the Occation of his acting so & to Oblige him to Come himselfe to y^e Generall.

Came the messengers. Sent from Jn^o Caboss & Loboo to Qhomino Coffee wth one sent by Coffee who protests that he hath not Seized any one of y^e Arkanys nor knowes of any Such thing done by any returned from the King of Loboo Cou's who the Generall had sent thither about this affair, & brought word to y^e same purpose from y^e King of Loboo that there was noe Such thing:—

³T. 70/1463.

Jan. 28

The Arcany Cabbash^{rs} & the messenger of quomeno Coffee met before y^e Generall, the last declareing for their Master that tho he had a palabra against the Arcanys for killing a Capt. of his he had sent in their Country, yet he had not hitherto attempted any thing against them, but he had threatened & still doth threaten that if they doe not make it up he will Certainly fall upon them, the Sattisfaction he formerly asked them was four boundyes but since they would not agree to it he now demands 12 the Generall promised to send a Messenger to Quomino Coffee to have him make up the palabra for four Bendys Supposeing as it was Affirm'd that Quomino Coffee had not Seized these men that the Arcanys Compain of) and to bring a clear Information of that matter that they might all live in friendshipp together & have a free communication every ones Country wth another they thanked y^e Generall & went very well Sattisfied. Accordingly the Generall sent Obboo to quomeno Coffee to Invite him to Come here a long wth y^e King of Leboo & Jn^e Caboss that y^e palabra may be freindly made up to desire him y^e meane time to give a free passage to y^e Arcanys that they may the better find out those that have paniard their propte & to helpe himselfe to detect them.

Jan. 29.

The Cief Cabbash of Cap Coast wth y^e other Cabbash^{rs}: of the towne agreed wth Sr Dalby Thomas Generall: That any freman whom soe ever that shall Consaw (it is their terme for marrying) any of y^e Companys Slaves or Cohabitt wth her shall thereby become Slave to the Comped he & his Children & likewise if any free woman doth Consaw wth one of the Companys Slaves she & her Children shall be Slaves to the Company.

Feb. 12—

[An explanation offered to the Generall that 2 slaves were seized by a mistake] and Sent word y^t a Cabbash^r of y^e mine did owe a debt to y^e Dey of feeto Brother whoe Sent his people to paniard those Slaves thinking they did belong to Some of y^e Inhabitants of y^e Mine town (a Custom they have of Seizing on Some of y^e Same Towne or for y^e Debts of any one of the same place & the freinds of y^e person Seized for the Other to give Sattisfaction & soe are released)

April 23

The Cabeshshires of Cape Coast Complained to the Generall, that Peter Passop a black Cabbeshshire of the Mine, a Creature of

the Dutch Sent to threaten the town, that he would paniard some of them if they did not return him a rowl of Tobacc, which one of his boys was forced to pay, a Considerable time ago, being apprehended for lying with y^e wife of one of y^e town (according to their Custom of fineing in such Cases) y^e Generall ask'd them what was usual in such Case to do, they answered, by y^e Custom of y^e Country the man was fined, & it would do the like, against him

X ber 21

Okamfamoo a Cabesshire Living in the Aquasso Countrey Gave Notice That a great Number of Traders Coming from y^e Reufer as with Large Quantity of Gold & Slaves to Cape Coast along with Coffee the Company's Slave sent thither to Invite them to it to buy goods they were stopt by the said Okamfamoo at his town he not daring to do it by violence used a stratagem very Common in this Country when Any one Cannot prevail by force upon his Enemy & that is he said that if they proceed any farther to go to Cape Coast he would shoot himself Dead upon their heads and as it is usual among them all his friends & Acquaintance are bound to avenge his Blood upon those at whose occasion he killed himself & they allwayes do it.⁴

WARS AND TRADE

June 27 1704

Came notis that Quameno Coffe threatned to bring War upon the Queen of Fetoo

June 29—1704

Came one from Adouamina of the mine, mentioned the 12, Desiring the 3 women Slaves who ware stopt heare, the Generall Toald him if Adouamina himself wold Com to Speake for them he wold make That up with him, the messenger answered The Dutch Generall wold not Sufer adouamina to Cum to Cape Coast.

June 30—1704.

At the Desire of Cabesshieres of Secundoe was sent Thare y^e 24 Instant M^r Cobam Surveyor to view y^e Plase of the old Castle in order to repayr it a Gain.

Came this Day a Messenger from the said Cabesshieres Complaining the Dutch Disturb.

(The General sends back word that he will protect them from the Dutch or any other enemies and rebuild the fort there if they will take a fetish to serve the interests of the Royal African Company.)

⁴ T. 70/1463.

Came a Servant of the Copeman Mauree with a Complement from his master to the Gennerall, To home he sent a hat and other things which were Taken away tow Dayes agoe from a Soldier Belongin to Ananaboe, (called Jeremy Burchell And run away from thence to come to Cape Coste) Nigh the Castle Mauree, by Some Blacks after whome he sent thinking thay Did belong to the Towne of Mauree and Desired if thay had ben such to have Sent them bound to the Generall att Cape Coste But his men founde them belong to the King of Saboo's towne, thay fought the copeman of Mauree's men one of home thay cut very much in the head.

July 6, 1704.

The Genneral having notice for the second time That the Queen of Fetor was threatned of War by the Cabisshiers of Cabesteras Quomeno Coffees Countrey he sent Quomeno, and with him affedoo to the Queen of Fetoo with the following Directions.

To Inquire of the Queen what Message quomeno Coffee sent her the first time, and particularly what he said then Relating to the King of Saboo

To inquire what message he Sent the Second Time and what he said of the Cabisshiers.

To Inquire of his Demands and why? the said further to Quomeno and affedoo.

Advise with the Queen and Whom Else She pleases how to manage You? Self in this Palabra and what i have Directed you to follow their advise—Therein.

Acquaint the Queen my Opinion is for you to Let him know that i Sent you to Inquire of Quomino Coffee why he pretended to Quarrel with The Queen and her people, and if he has owned The King of Saboo put him upon it, to know of him what should put the King of Saboo upon Bringing him into a Quarrel with the Queen of Fetoo, and what he dose Expect to get by it If he has no Real Demands upon her, he nor his People cannot expect Succes; Let him know That i made her a Queen, So i will protect her and Assist her as my Queen, Against all that will be her Ennemys without a Just Cause, and If he makes Warr upon me, but i hope he will not begin A quarrell without a Just Cause for if he doth I am Satisfied he and his People will Repent.

You are Further to Acquaint the Queen when By her self, that as to trade, She must take care Of her Self not to give away her Goods.

She must trade like an English woman, per her Dept and then go on a Gain

She must consider that Taking yams and Corn For Goods ought never to paid for before hand Nor none but She shall be paid before hand, She must Sell for arkania gold and Slaves and make Trade that way, and then She will make her Self Rich, and in this way She Shall never want my Assistance Tho i must pay for all I trust her, if any Accident should happen to prevent its being paid, the Company having ordered me to trust no Body, and i will trust none but her,—

Then you are to goe to, Quomino A Coffee in The Cabesteras Country, and Let him know also That After so many messages I Recd^d. from him I Expected that he and I should have met frinds I Being very Desirous to have Discourced him about Setling of Trade, peace and frendship between us And the Arcanicans which wold have ben to him & his people Advantagious much more then a warr Without a Cause can be hoped for—

And had Sent my messenger to him and Peperell King of the Arcanians before now to have Come Down to me, to have agreed upon Articles nessary for this purpose had not my messenger ben at Alanpo And Since being confined for a few Dayes, upon his being Maid a Cabesshier, but about a week or ten Days hince Did desire to Send him, and will still send one to him and Peperel, if he is more inclinable to get money honnestly by peace and frendship then by making of An unjust warr. Let him Determine which he likes best and i will be his frind or his Enemy as he pleases.

July 9 1704.

Came notice that Mr. Chaignoan chief of Anamabo Returning from Agga (which factory is also in his Charge) to Anamaboo, was Secsed by the anamaboo People in the way, and by his Letter he advised Further that thay had Carried him to Agga and Stopt him from Coming to Anamaboo under Pretence That he had not paid Setling Customs nor their dancin Customs which last ware offered them if thay wold Come to the Castle but Did not (Robert Adamson, Serjeant was sent to look after the Castle in Mr Chaignoan's absence).

July 11, 1704.

Came Eggin from Anamaboo who told the General the Reason the Cabicsers Stopping Mr. Chaignoau from Going to Anamaboo was because he Did not pay them thair Setling Customs

Returned Quomino and Affadoo from quomino Coffee and from the Queen of Fetoo

Quomino Coffee was wery Civil to them—he Said in general That Some Dayes a Goe upon his being out of Order notice Was

Given to the Queen of fetoo he was Dead and She Shewed a Grate Deale of Joy of It by Killing a Sheep and Other Tokens which he has taken wery ill, and if It was not in Consideration of the Generall he wold Make Warr upon her but in Respect to him he Wold not Do it when he was Asked whether the King Of Seboo had put him upon Making war with the Queen of fetoo he Laughed but Gave no Answer.

He was wery thank full To the Generall for Sending To him, and Said the Reason of His not comming To Viset him to Cape Coast was, some fears he had to Be Served as he was in Mr. Buckiredges time whome he pretends is yet indebted to him many Bendys, He Said the Said Mr. Buckiredge did then presuade him to Come so the Castle and their Kept him and had the Castle Gate Locked up a whole Day that one—a Consideraooa Cabisheir came to The Castle and was Killed at his going oute and Grate Tagee himself who was a Grate frind to the English was Envited into the Castle and there by them murthered, which Things Every Body a fraid of Cape Coast Castle—Nevertheless after he has opened the way for the Traders to come Down which he Intends to Doe he Designes to bring the Traders along with him and Give a viset to the General For home he protests he has a grate Respect: he said he hopes the Generall will present him With a hat and feather and a Cane.

July 14.

Went Mr. Jo Brown to Anamaboo about the Cabessheirs there hindring Mr. Chaigneau from coming To the Castle where he Brought Mr. Chaigneau Into the Castle a Gain and Returned the Saim Day having maid up the Pelabra with the Cabissheres

July 16

Returned Coffee and Afran from the Braffo Cantoen who sent with him his Son to tell the General that he had Sent Messengers to Anquina That ware not Returned yet, that he under Took business and The mony Employed to Purpose it was given for, or lose his Kingdom.

July 18

Was sent Afadoo to the Abranboes to make Porpasals to them Concerning the opening of a free way thro thair Contry to the Dankerys Arkeany and Other Trades of the Land that thay may Come to Cape Coste and return with out hinderance and from thens to Goe to the Dankerys.

And Coffee was Sent to the King of the Cafferes Both to open trade from them places to Cape Coste.

July 24.

Came notice from Fetoo that the King of Saboos People were Comming thither to Seize upon the Contry.

The Generall sent to know the truth and Told The Cabisschiers of Cape Coast Town that thay should put their men in Armes having a Presant Occasion for them in Armes, Came to the Castle Gate, redy to Goe whare thay should be Commanded.

But notice being Given that the report was not trew thay ware Dismissed.

The Generall Sent to the King of Seaboo upon the mater, who returned Messenger to Assure him that he Intended nothing a Gainst Fetoo and Sent one of his Sones as a pledg of what he Said.

August 16.

Was sent a Messenger from the General one From the King of Saboo, and one from the Queen of Fetoo To The Aquaffo people, To tell them of The Alliance & frendship they have agreed with One another, and that thay Do Send word, who They Desinge to be their King but not to proceed In the Eliction till they Advise The Generall The Saide King and Queen.

August 17.

Returned The messengers Sent yesterday to Aquaffo With this message that thay had Given their answer To John Cabest who was to bring it to the Generall The next Day.

August 18.

The King of Saboo, having sent a messenger to his town to bring to Cape Coast Castle one Ahon the Pampa (a Cabesshiere who is the Author of the Disturbance Against the Queen of fetoo, and Was Insisting The King of Saboo to make warr Against her and make him King there) he Brought to the Generall for answer that Ahenche Pampa did Refuse to Come upon which The Generall Told him if he did not Deliver y^e Said Ahenche Pampa as he Ingaged the Day befor he wold it was Sign, he Did protect him and that he wold make war against him if he Did not Deliver him, or If any Disturbance Should happen upon fetoo Occasiond by Him.

August 19.

The King of Saboo with his Dey and Cabethiers Met to Geather before the General who made Them Reciprocally Swear to one other to live In Concord and frendship with one another And not to Disturb or make warr against One another on any Account and to be trew To the Intrest of The Royall African Comp of England,

Thay all After one another took their fetich With a grate many Seremonies before the General With Imprecations and Curses upon them Selves If thay Did eaver do or act otherwise then thay Now promised.

Ampechan The King of Saboo partickularly did Take a Fetish that he wold not now or at any time Bring war or any Disturbance a Gainst the Queen of ffeeto Acqua Braffo nor her people That he wold Doe his utmost to have Achenche Pampa Did Goæ to Some other plases, and any Disturbances ware occasined by him and to Deth—The same fetish took his Dey and Cabeshers And Like wise the Queen and Cabeshiers of Fetoo promising to live frendly, and not rase Any Disturbance a Gainst the King or his People of Saboo.

August 21.

Came Jn^o Cabess, who gives an account that he had Consented that Fagger Adico should Be King of Aquaffo, on Condition that he Was to Receive no rent for the Company's fort At Commanda. If he brought no Trade, there And If he Did Bring a Trade, he agreed with him that the Company shall pay no more Then Eaight Acky's p month for the futer.

Returned Coffee from The King of Cofferas and Brought Severall Traders with him.

August 23.

Went a way the King of Saboo, to Whom the Taking a fetish the 19th was of so little regard That he Threatneed a new to make Disturbances If a mark of Goald was not paid him for a fee, for his taking a fetish.

August 25.

Was Dismissed a messenger Come Yesterday From the Braffo fanteen, to home the Generall Sent word that he wold take it well, The Braffo should Remove the Dutch from Sanja, as he has Engaged to do it with all Speead possible before the Royall African Company of England who have notice given Them of that Business, Oblige the Dutch Company in Holland to Send their Orders To have there Servants quit the place.

Sept. 1

Ware Sent by the Braffo Fanteen two blacks To be cept heare in Irons for Hindring Traders In the way from Comeing heather.

Sept. 4

Came two Blacks Sent by John Cobus in Irons to be sent to Barbadoes fro bringing Disturbance against our Settlement at Succundee.

Sept. 6

Quow Canoeman was pawned The 3: of Ins^t By Acrong whose Slave he is to redeem a woman at 6 p Aky and 3 p p^{ts} more given him in all 10 p^s 3: till that sum be paid in arkany goald he is to work for the Company.

Sept. 7

Aquin Linguester Came from Anamaboo.

Sept. 9

Abboo Canoeman pawned himself to the Company for two Ounces and 8 Ackys that ware paid to him in purpets.

Sept. 20

The Queen of Fetoo Came & Stayed 8 or 9 Dayes.

October 5

Whinnebah, Niccacoe a Cabesshier of Shedoe a place in that neighbourhood came To Desire the Generall to have a Settelmēt for the Company at his town. The Generall told him he would see the Dutch out of Baracoo first. Niccacoe stayed here a fourt-night.

October 9

The King of Aquaffo The Generall Sent Two mesengers to him to Tell him that he had Promised to Come to C: C: after the Seremony of his Admission shold be over, which being now fineshed, he shall be very welcom when he pleases to come hither; And The General will be Glad to See him, The same complement was Sent To the fetera—Two Cases of Sprits ware sent for a preasant to the King, and one for fetera.

Fetoo the Two messengers ware Ordered att Their return rom Aquaffo Calt at the Queen Of Fetoo, to tell her the Generall wonders, The fetera of that place shold have some Diferancees with the Anamaboo people, and Offer to peneard them without giving him y^s Least account of the matter, and that the General thought the Queen shold not have failed to advise him of shuch Things Before he hears it another way.

The messengers ware allso ordered to Goe to the feter of Fetoo and tell him The Generall Expected that he should not have peniard any people as he has some of Anamabo Without Giving him notice first of the Dispute And Of the Occasion of It.

October 12

King of Aquaffo returned the messenger Sent to them the 9th

with thanks to the General and Said the King was ill of the Worms that hindered to come at presant But as soon as well wold wait on him.

Fetoo the messenger of the 9th brought word That the fetera had returned the men he had paniard out of Anamaboo and made up y^e Palabra.

(Some French ships attack the English.)

October 14

fetoo the Queens son fetera Cabasshire Came with About 400 men in Armes to offer their service to the General & went away in three Days.

October 15

Saboo The King Came with a Number of armed Men to Offer his service to The General If he had Occasion for them to opose the french he went to y^e Mine the 19 & returned hither & went to his Countrey y^e 19

Menta a Cabasshire of Congpoint Came also with his Men in Armes & went Away two Dayes after.

8 ber 21

(re Okamfamoo sent in 1st Report)

The Kenferas being terrified by his threatning for fear of Bringing an Implacable Warr Against their Countrey stopt there & proceeded no further.

The Queen & Cabasshire of foetu sent word to the General that If he pleased they would go & bring the head of The said Okomfamoo that the traders might freely come on.

The General sent word by a Messenger to the Queen & y^e Rest of the Cabasshires of foetu that he Ordered them & their people to take Arms without Delay & to go & Burn the Town of Okomfamoo to take y^e said Okomfamoo whom if they did Bring alive to him to Cape Coast he would give them five Bendys for him & for as Many people as they should take in y^t town & bring them to Cape Coast they should be paid the worth of every one of them.

8 ber 22

Winnebah came a Messenger from the Queen of Anquina that if the General would pay what was due for her ground rent & likewise for a man that was killed in a Dispute Against the Castle Long time Ago she would remove y^e Dutch from Baracoo

The General's Answer was that the palabra about the man killed had been made up long time ago & he would pay nothing neither on that Account nor no ground Rent till the Dutch were removed from Baracoo & if they were not removed very quickly he would not pay any more ground rent at all.

8 ber 23

Kenferes Traders arrived here with Coffee & the Messengers sent the 21 to the Queen of fetoo & brought Gold & Slaves.

The Messenger met them in y^e way Coming hether. they report that Okomfamoo: unsaid what he spoke before & did not suffer them to make any stop in his town but told them the Kuferes to proceed on their Journey without stay since they were Going to Cape Coast Castle & that he was a friend to the Interest of the Royall Affrican Company & to y^e General of Cape Coast, and that he would no more side with the Dutch.

8 ber 24

Fetoo Came, y^e Queen and stayed 8 Days.

8 ber 29.

Okomfamoo Came with y^e Dey of fatoo and went away y^e 31 after having Taken a ffetish and signed a Promis to be trew and faithfull to y^e Intrest of y^e Royall African Company of England.

November 1

Ashenty Is Come thence Damboa Cosin To Aginsam, y^e King of Arcania who Sent him hither to see The Generall and to be Informed of what Goods were heare for trad And the Prices.

The Generall sent him away two Days after With an Inventation to Aginsam King of Arcania To send traders hither being told the Prices of y^e Goods and from thence he is to Goe to Ashenty and Give y^e same notice to y^e King of that place and to all traders, Tom a Companys Slave was sent with him.

November 26.

Dankera, Returned from thence, Affadoo (Who was Sent The 18 July) and brought with Him a Grate many Traders, Among whome Is one who is to Succeed The King of Dankera.

November 28.

The London Galley Cap^t Harris from bristol, a 10 p C^t man, Came notice That The Negroes had Risen upon him, The Day he sayled from hence, and fourced them To Saile a Gaine To Accra where The Ship Came on the 20. The blacks were Reduced by

The helpe of The Soldiers sent from James port, with The Loss of 30 Negroes, and three white men of The Ships Company.

November 29

Quow Cannoeman was Pawne To The Company for an Ounce of Gold.

November 30

Dankera, Lackaba and Anty, of That Country Tua, of Cufferaes, affoo of Abramboo Tooke Their Fetish in The name of Theire Chat Cabbishcire To be Trew to y^e Intrest of The Company.

December 16

Affran Returned from Arkania from The King Peperel with Traders

December 17

(Two ships sailed for Annamaboe to trade and take income.)

December 21, 1704.

Quomino Company's Slave Sent	} Returned
To Dankera y ^e 7 th	
And Affadoo Company's Slave Sent	
To Dankera y ^e 16	

Having Gon no further Then y^e Kufferes There being warr like to be Between y^e Dankerys and Cufferes, & were sent again few days after.

December 24

King of Aquaffoo Came here pretending he would wiset The Generall next morning, butt went away Clandestingly.

December 25

Cong Point, The people of that town Refusing to Lett y^e King of Aquaft returne To Cape Coast where he was sent for by The Generall—a Party of white Soldiers and Blacks were sent To Seize two or three men who were Cheiffy The Occation, he Did not Come, The People of Cong Point kept a Passage where They fought two of y^e white Soldiers were wounded and three Blacks, and of the Enemy's 2 Dead & Severall wounded.

The Larke Brigantine Cap^t Harman was Ordred to Anchor Oposit to Cong Point, and y^e Rook Galley Capt. Blanket. Likewise, one of Each Side of The Town.

December 26. 1704

All the Cannoes of Cape Coast Were Ordred To Goe and Land

men at The East Side of The Towne and a Party of White Soldiers With a Number of Blacks To Enter The Towne At the West Side and Sett It on fire which They Did Without Oposition.

The Generall went Allso and had three Gunns Landed, And Left a Party of white men and Blacks to keepe Possession of The Place.

January 1st 170 4/5

Cong Point, The Blacks of Saboe and Mauree Attacks this Place in The morning, by water with many Cannoes and by Land on boath Sides. They were Repulsed by our men—with Loss of Severall of Their People, of Our Side Capt. Coutts was lightly wounded.⁵

ABSTRACT OF LETTERS RECEIVED BY THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY OF ENGLAND FROM THE COAST OF AFRICA

Whidah & Cape Coast

Capt. Willis to S^r. Dalby July 14 (24) 1704/5

Advise—that slaves are scairse by reason of y^e ways being Stopt by the King of Ardah.

that it's not in y^e King's power to procure a ffree passage for a Messeng^r.

that he cannot hear of any among the Natives that und^r: stands the making of Canoes.

Cape Coast Castle 16 Oct. 1 Nov. & 1st Jany 1705/6

S^r. Dalby Thomas believes

that there is no dependence on Allyances with y^e Natives that y^e King of Saboo took a fetish & broke it & the like of the King of Aquaffo.

Recovera Rio Scarceras John fletcher in a letter of 11 April 1706—

gives a description of Behs Island stating that it is a healthy place “y^t y^e Natives are of Morose strange temper.”

Cabo Corso Castle 16 June & 1st Aug. S^r Dalby Thomas writes

The Cufferoes & Aquoffoers like to be at Enmity

His (John Cabess's) Town like to be y^e best on y^e Coast & is much resorted to y^e Marine of Aquoffo who is a very Rich Man is come to live there wth his People.

Annamaboo 12 July & 1st Aug. 1706 Josiah Pearson writes

Are in Daily expectation of y^e Arcanians coming to fight y^e

⁵ T. 70/1463.

Cabessterra People w^{ch} if they beat there will be a glorious time both for Slaves & Gold.⁵

York Island Rio Sherbro 22^d Aug. 1706 John Clark writes—

The Country people clean their Wood & bring it to y^e Island, being in great want of Goods.

Cabo Corso Castle—Sr. Dalby Thomas writes October 5, 1706

The Warrs are like to be at an end, y^e ffettera of Aquaffo coming down with y^e Cufferoes has Destroyed Aquai'o & beaten them out of the Country.

The ffanteens have been at Sabo & burnt sev^{all} Crooms

So that y^e Waterside fellows seem as if their destruction was at hand.

Cabo Corso Castle—15 Jan. and 7 March 1707/8 Messrs. Chas. Hayes, John Chaigneau and William Hickes write

That the ffanteens have routed y^e Saboers, ffenters & Cabes-terraes, Cutt off y^e King of Saboes head & taken Ahenico Pompa King of Fetue Prisone: . . .

In their Letter of 7 March they write

That y^e Cufferoes & Arkanians have been routed by y^e Cabes-terraes. . . .

The Queen of Fetue dares not to take possessor of her Country for fear of the Cabesteraes.

The Wars make provisions very scarce & dead & Corn hardly to be had at any rate.

Accra 29 February 1707/8

The King of Quamboe being Turbulent & often ingaged in War is a great hindrance to Trade.

Gambia 29 December 1707 Agent John Snow writes

Has had a pallaver w y King of Barra who stopt y Water & boats coming to y^e Island y^e Pallaver cost 100 bars.

Cabo Corso Castle 14 January 1707/8 Samuel Eyles (writer) advises

That y^e Natives are a proud & Morose people, & (its his opinion) they may be Led, but will not be Drove to anything they can help.

Cabo Corso Castle 2 lres of 29th & 1 of 30 July 1708 from Sr. Dalby Thomas.

When a Chief is removed he carryes of his Stock of Utensils & provisions with him they being all his own.

Cabo Corso Castle 22 (23 and 25) October, 1708 Sr. Dalby Thomas writes.

The Ashantees bring their teeth 300 Miles & for sake of Carriage Cut the Largest, Desires to know if they are the Less in Value.⁶

Cabo Corso Castle 12th September 1709 Sr. Dalby Thomas writes.

Some More Ashantees are Come to Cape Coast and Some are Gone to the Mine for Salt.⁷

Cabo Corso Castle 22 October 1709 Sr. Dalby Thomas writes.

There has never been a Sugar Cane in the Comp^a's Grounds. But the Blacks have Many years had them Grow in Plenty. . . .

The Natives have had Indigo Growing among them time out of Mind and make as Good a Dye wth it as any that comes from the East Indies. . . .

The Kings of y^e Country are Civil when in Distress but Never requite a kindness.

Whydah 31 Jan. and 13 March 1709/10 from William Hickes.

Desires when you send a Ship not to forgett to send a ffyne Leymeter, a hat and ff feather and Scarlett Cloak for the King who is 14 years old.⁸

York Fort Rd. Sherbrow 8 June 1713 Mr. John Clark.

An Inland people called pholas who Live as far as Gambia and have often attempted to Trade to Sherbrow but hindred by the Natives there have this Year taken y^e Country of Cursa, w^{ch} is three days Journey from Sherbrow, and if they force theyr Way thither, the Trade will be very Considerable to what it has been.⁹

	Messrs. Seth Grosvenor	} write
Cape Coast Castle 16 July 1713	James Phipps	
	Robert Blean	

Have laid in a Stock of Salt for the Ashantee Trade. . . .

The Natives Understand False Coral, and Can harden Wax in Imitation of it.

Tantumquerry 28th May 1713 Mr. Francis Glisson writes

The Unquinas Stealing Some people from Quanza the head Cabash^r. at Tantumquerry he has resolv'd to fight them, which has been a hindrance to Trade.¹⁰

⁶ T. 70/5, pp. 6, 26, 30, 31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Gambia 28th, January 1714/5 from David Francis.

The King of Barra has taken a brigantine belonging to Coll^o Writt of Carolina and a Snow belonging to Mr. Bowles a Merchant in Deale. The Brigantine's Negroes rose upon them and the people belonging to y^e Snow being Sick, the people belonging to y^e King Seized on y^e Vessel and run her ashore.

York Fort R^o Sherbrow 29th January 1714/15 from Richard Smith

There is no King at Sherbrow; but every Town demands a Cole.

Whidah 3^d June 1716 from David Welch and W^m. Branston

The Kings of Whidah & Jacquine are at War with one another and will not suffer Traders to go through each other's Country.

Cape Coast Castle 26 th October 1716	Gore	} write
	Messrs. Phipps	
	Blane	

Hear the Ackims have Intercepted the Ashantee Traders on a report of their King's Death, w^{ch} will put a Stop to Trade.¹¹

Cabo Corso Castle Dec. 23, 1721	Messrs. Phipps	} write
	Dodson	
	Boye	

Slaves likely to come down to the Coast in plenty, from the Battle said to be lately fought by the Ashantees in which They have got the Victory.

Cape Coast Castle Aug. 31, 1722	Messrs Phipps	} write
	Dodson	
	Boye	

Ashantees resort much to Cape Coast—their chief demand is salt. . . .

King of Ashantee sent a Messenger to trade with them—but want sortable Goods & Salt especially.

Gambia June 6, 1723 Mr. Willey writes—&c^a upon—will make the 2 Jam^a Negroes Overseers of that Plantation. . . .

The Two Jamaica Blacks work well but the Gins are slight—hope next year to send a large parell of clean Cotton.

Gambia June y^e 6th 1723 Mr. Orfeur writes

Has discoursed y^e Heads of the Merchants about opening a Trade thither (Gallam) who promise to carry a White Man up with them & bring him back—they say their mines are very rich & they have many Slaves.

¹¹ T. 70/6, pp. 36 and 39.

Whydah Aug. 9, 1723 Messrs. Baldwyn }
 Mabyn } write
 Barlow }

About Cotton—Whydah Cloths made at Lucamee where no White Men ever were.

Cape Coast Castle March 5, 1723/4 Messrs. Tinker }
 Rice } write
 Wingfield }

Cloths in imitation of those made at Whydah are not approved by the Natives.

Sierraleone April 7, 1725 Mr. Colin Hay writes.

Have a great quantity of Beans sent by the Northampton which are of no use Rice being what the Negros intirely live on—so propose to send the Beans to Cape Coast.

Gambia Sep^r. 14, 1725 Messrs. Plunkett }
 Drummond } write
 Rogers }

Cannot make up the Palaver with the King of Parra who is too powerfull for them.¹²

Cabo Corso Castle

In Lre of 28 March 1708 S^r Dalby Writes—

That on y^e 20 Ditto there was a Riseing on Board y^e Mary Briga^a (Hired by Mr. Chester of Antiqua), In which were Drowned 30 Men & 3 Women Slaves & 3 Dead of their Wounds, Occasioned by the Carelessness of y^e Men, And the Brigantine not being provided for Defence ag^t such a Cargo of Negros.

Gambia—Agent John Snow

In Lre 14 June 1708 Snow writes of a meeting by his Garrison, and “That y^e Negros seeing this disturbance Took Advantage of it, And y^e Master of Gillifree sent him word that the King of Barra demanded 40 or 50 Barrs worth of Goods, Which tho an unreasonable Demand, And with as little Cause as y^e Demand of y^e Mutineers yet it must be pay’d. At foot of his Lre he sends an Acco^t of Goods demanded by . . . Mr. of Gillifree.

Goods demanded by y^e Master of y^e Gillifree for y^e King of Barra Viz^t

¹² T. 70/7, pp. 34, 51, 56, 57, 62, 68, and 111.

2 Buccaneers	20
2 Pr. Fustian	12
8 Iron Barrs	8
	<hr/>
barre	40
For Himselfe	
8 brass Basons	4
4 Iron Barrs	4
	<hr/>
Barrs ¹³	48

ABSTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM SEPTEMBER 30, 1707

Cabo Corso Castle 16 April 1709

S^r Dalby Thomas Writes—

Has turn'd out Mr. Phripp at Commenda for Trusting Jn^o Cabbess Two Much Contrary to Orders. . . .

In his Stead S^r Dalby has placed Mr. Paston (Tho useless enough) Who was removed from Agga, The Natives Imposing upon Us, But upon their Submission S^r Dalby has sent down one Georg Taylor to keep up the Factory.

Cabo Corso Castle October 28, 1710

(Sr. Dalby writes of his plan suggested to the factors of allowing them for a time to trade with the 10 p men if they maintained the present charges of their forts or factories.)

Mr. Crabb of Commenda Excused it as pretending want of Stock, but in Truth I think him not fitt for it, & John Cabbess is too Cunning for him.

Annamaboe & Agga are by the 10 p C^t Men too much subjected to the Natives. . . .

Capt. Aspden of Tantom quarry was not sent thither so much for a Trade, as to gett Quanza to be hearty to us, to prevent the Fanteens playing their Roguish Tricks on us, and I think it pretty well Answered the end.

Cape Coast Castle 26th Jany. 17¹/₈

Messrs. Seth Grosvenor & James Phipps write—

We thought it convenient for her (the Elizabeth's) dispatch to send her to Whidah for the Gent there to put on board her one hundred Slaves under the Notion of bringing them up for your Castles use to prevent paying the Exorbitant Customs there ¹⁴—

¹³ Public Record Office, T. 70/2.

¹⁴ T. 70/2.

Cape Coast Castle 6th October 1713

Messrs. Seth Grosvenor, James Phipps and Robert Bleau write—

There being some differences betwixt the Countries of Unguina and Quamboe, the latter took the opportunity of Coming upon the Unguina (in the night time) that were down with us at Shidoe a Trading with a great Number of People in arms, and intirely destroyed the place, killed some People and to our great Grief, carried off all your Honors Effects that were in the Factory house amounting to about five hundred pounds, besides the loss of a good trade, which has disappointed us in dispatching the Royall Africa according to expectation.¹⁵

York Fort Rd. Sherbro 9th November 1713

Mr. John Clark writes—

I was obliged to put him (William Sell, a farmer Serj.) in Irons to prevent his murdering a free woman, w^{ch} had proved a dangerous Consequence and put your Honors to vast Charges to make up such Palavars.¹⁶

Royall Anne Gambia River Aprill 22 1714—Capt. William Cook and Mr. Richard Gibbs write

When the John Gally came from Portadally the reason of her coming from thence Wee wrote yo^r Honors in our last by Capt. Drayson in the John and Thomas and the John Gally wanting a large Number of Negroes to Compleat him which if staid but two days more might have been fully Completed and his Coming away left a great many Slaves unpaid for, for which reason I was obliged to send the Sloop with the Aleaid and Goods to Pay for them and to gett more Slaves: but this day the Sloop arrived from Portadally and brings us Intelligence that the King has altered his friendship, and tells Mr. Mackenzie who is Second y^t he will not take the price as Agreed for because the Ship went away and did not pay for them, for that reason he will have his own price, and keeps Mr. Mackenzie as Prisoner, till his Slaves are paid for: the Goods that he will have is Silver, large Corral, Powder and Shott, but large Quantities of Silver & Corral, So what wee shall doe with him Wee cannot as yet tell.¹⁷

Same as above—24 July 1714

The John Gally was obliged to stay there (Fortodally) near three Mo^s. before he could End with y^e King.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁷ T. 70/3, p. 56.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Charles Fort Annamaboe 20 June 1715 from Capt. Peter Holt.

Mr. Logan would not take any notice of y^e Pawns tho there is no factory upon y^e Coast that Can live without it or differ with their best Traders, I have many times since my Coming here taken half y^e Goods given for a Slave (after they have been Carryed out into y^e town & brought back) & given money for them to oblige y^e traders for y^e Owners of y^e Slaves that bring them out of the Country seldom Come into the Castles themselves, the Waterside People not Suffering them, & when y^e Goods are Carryed out into Town, the Owner wanting some other Goods than the Trader has got for him, to Oblige them such things must be done.¹⁹

James Fort in Gambia River Aug. 30, 1715

Mr. David Francis writes

I would Desire your Honors to give me an Account in your next of the former Customs allowed to the King's and their Subjects in this River, I haveing the last month past had great Disputes of the paying Custom of the Fort for two Years to the King of Barra.

Cape Coast Castle—Nov. 2, 1725 Messrs. Phipps &ca.

Mr. Wingfield removed from Succondee, where he has p a stop to the Trade by his Palavers with the Natives.²⁰

Cape Coast Castle—Sept. 30, 1721—

Messrs. Phipps, Dodson & Boye write

There was severall Goods on board y^e Cape Coast Sloop being the remains of her trading Cargo at Annamaboe many whereof are stole by the Natives, & others have rec^d damage by the Salt Water, as well as the Corn Mr. Rice put on board, being Ninety Two Chests; Ten of the Slaves have been taken up by the Towns people which we are afraid will be all that is to be expected of the Seventeen; the others missing have had time enough to make their escape to some distant part, if not otherwise mett with by those who think it their Interest to conceal them; It would be a very unaccountable history, that Thirteen men & four boy Slaves should attempt to rise upon Seven White Men, was it not that it seems they were all out of Irons by y^e Master's (Capt. Wilson's) orders.²¹

Cape Coast Castle April y^e 22 1722.

Capt. Hearsease writes vzt

I left Rio Sierraleone y^e 21st Feb^r, & arrived at Cape Mensurado

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²⁰ T. 70/4, p. 10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

y^e 27th, my sickness being so increased that I almost despaired of recovery, where I sent Mr. William Allen on shore, with directions to cultivate a friendship with the Natives, and endeavour to discover what dying Woods were there, and particularly what I had shewn your Honours, but thro' the inadvertancy of the Chief Mate, who had taken directions from Capt. Minzers, the Boat & all the People were seized on by the Natives, & a quantity of Goods demanded by the King for their redemption, which was paid them, and then the Natives demanded more, this unfortunate accident being likely to occasion such a charge to the Company, and such loss of time to the Ship, was so great an affliction to me, that in my weak condition I had much ado to support myself, and thus incapable of acting anything, I could only give my advice, and directions what method to pursue, for the recovery of the boat, and Men with the least charge possible, w^{ch} had so good effect that We recovered the Men, but could not the Boat. I know not what orders Capt. Minzers had given his Mate, nor what induced him to venture on shore, my design was only that Mr. Wm. Allen should trust himself, and if he had been taken alone, the Boat being armed might have relieved him, or at least a very small matter as a Hatt or two would have bought his redemption, and if after all he had been left, it would only have been the loss of one of the Company's Factors for some small time, who might have been serviceable to the Company in his discoverys during his stay there.²²

Gambia Aug 9 1722.

Mr. Glynn writes—

I beg leave to acq^t. Your Honours that I am not extreemly well satisfyed with the Acc^{ts} I have mett with from those persons that had the management of the Portadally & Gunn Coast affairs, particularly that of Portodally; Mr. Ramsey has never given in any Acct of the place, or in what manner the Palavera was made up with the King. He says in general the King was very well pleased with the present made him, & told him he wanted to make Trade with the English Comp^a. because the French had nothing to trade with; and that he had no Palavera with y^e Comp^a. Yet at the same time some of his Officers talked of a Note for () Slaves due from the Comp^a which was not given up, or suffered to be talked of any more at that time, and as soon as the Presents were received, and the Kings Trade made there was an Embargo laid on all the Goods then on shore, and the King would borrow them by force. some talk

²² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

there was also of seizing on Mr. Ramsey if he went any more on shore, which he had advise of & prevented it. And 2 or 3 Months since our Vessell was there; a Portuguese who had borrowed money from the fort was seized & his Slaves taken from him, because they heard he was trading with the Comp^{as} mony, all which looks as if the Palavera stood, as it did before Mr. Ramsey went there.²³

Gambia, Augst 9th, 1722.

Messrs. Glynn, Ramsey & Wiley write—

When Mr. Ramsey was at Portendally settling the Trade with the King of Bayoall, after he had made him the handsome presents allotted for him, Mr. Ramsey says in return he made him a present of 4 Slaves as usuall, 3 for himself & one for Mr. Orfeur who was with him, but the King leaving the Port that night, the Ferbro or head minister disposed of them otherways & desired Mr. Ramsay to take his four Slaves that was on board the Clarendon in lieu thereof. Mr. Ramsay returned those 4 Slaves here & the Portuguese had them.²⁴

Cape Coast Castle 30 June 1729

Messrs. Brathwaite & Cruikshakk write

And wee have now the Pleasure to Acquaint Your Hon^{rs} that Since our last wee have obliged the Accra Towns People to discharge A K 11 — — of a Debt Contracted, by them in the Time of Mr. Duport and wee doubt not wee shall be able to recover the Remainder of that Debt, in the Next Salt Season those People having no other way to pay it but in that Commodity, and which is indeed more for Your Hon^{rs} Advantage than if it was paid in Gold, as there is a Profit of 100 P Cent, and upwards on the Sale of the Salt. . . .

The County of Cuifferoe which is the Key of Ashantee, and the Path by which their Trade is brought to the Waterside, being now in the Hands of Intuifferoe, who is under great Obligations to Your Hon^{rs} for the Protection given him in Your Fort, at Succondee, some Years Ago, when he was expelled his Country, by the Ashantee in Acknowledgment whereof, he sent to us one of his Principal Officers with the Jaw Bone of one of his Enemies (according to the Custom of this Country) to Notifie his Victory, and Assure us of the Continuance of his Friendship, in Token whereof he sent us down about 60 of his Captives Signifying at the Same Time that he had ordered his Subjects to bring their Trade to us, and had

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

prohibited all Commerce with the Dutch, against whome he is very much incensed.²⁵

James Fort Rio Gambia Febry 27th 1729/30

Messrs. Rogers & Stibbs write.

And as a further Instance of their being thoroughly satisfied with our Administration, wee have received from Different Kings of the Country Seven of the Comp^{as} runaway Slaves returned us as Assurances of their Friendship, which Runn away in Mr. Peppers Time for Mall Treatment.²⁶

Whydah 28 May 1730

Mr. Brathwaite writes

And my good Offices were so acceptable to the Accras & Aquamboes between whome I made the inclosed Articles of peace, that I received a very gratefull Acknowledgement from both Partys & presents in all to the value of £100 which I hope your Hon^{rs} will be pleased to bestow upon me for that Service.²⁷

Gambia 25 April 1732

Antⁿ. Rogers Esq^r. Gov^r. writes

This goes by your Hon^{rs} Ship the Boneta Mr. Thos. Carse Master which arrived the 26 Ult^o. & after having been near 12 Months upon the Voyage from Gambia brought us no more than about a Tun of Teeth Two of Mallaguetta & 52 Slaves most of them Small & half dead with Fluxes, of which Distemper they buried 18 before they came in & 6 more soon after.²⁸

Cape Coast Castle 16 June 1732.

Messrs. Brathwaite & Peake write

"by the last advices which came by a Dutch Ship to the Mine, we hear the King of Dahomy has destroyed Jaquin & the Dutch Factory there, so now the Dutch are routed from thence."²⁹

Whidah Apr. 28, 1735

Mr. Wyat writes—

Mr. Whitaker left no Account behind him but of twenty Slaves lent to the King of Whydah to resettle him at the Town of Sabe.³⁰

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Dec. 20th 1738—Mr. James Hope writes—Cape Coast Castle re an inspection of the forts in the neighbourhood

Dec. 20th 1738—Mr. James Hope writes—Cape Coast Castle re an inspection of the forts in the neighbourhood

And many of your Cabosheers had been dead for sometime and those who succeeded them had neither been paid their usual Dashees (or presents) upon being appointed, nor their pay, for which reasons they sided with the Dutch against your Honours Interest, so far that there was not one path free for the Traders to come to any of your Leewards Forts: . . . there being nothing in your warehouses at present, but a few woollens for which the natives wont so much as give you a Fowl nor thank you were they to have them in a present.

Theres scarce Slaves at your own Forts sufficeint to do the daily work necessary at them, so I was obliged to hire Hammock Men all the way, there being no possibility of coming by Sea the Current running so strong to Leeward and the Sea so very bad for a long time together, that there was no safety in either going of or coming on shoar, many Canoes being over sett in attempting it that the Blaeks themselves chuse to walk all the way as run the chance of Sea.³¹

Cape Coast Castle

Messrs. Somers, Gregory & Mills write—May 20, 1739—

re a debt of 80 Ounces which Dahomey asserts is owing him by the Royal African Company

Your Hon^{rs}. will please to consider Dahomey not only as the most absolute but as the greatest Tyrant in Africa, to which may be added a great deal of Art and particular genius beyond almost any man X in the world, all this considered we have thought most advisable to desire six months more from him in expectation of your Hon^{rs}. orders at the period of which we must pay him without any delay lest a panyar of the Hon^{ble} Companys Slaves Sho^d. be made if nothing worse.³²

Cape Coast Castle Mar. 8, 1738.

re Mr. Hope's conduct in relation to the affairs of Mrs. Phipps, deceased.

You Censure James Hope for his Conduct in relation to Mrs. Phipps's Affairs After her Death, by reason that it was Iniquitous & wou'd Involve The Company Probably in Palavers, To w^{ch} we beg Leave To Ans^r as follows, Upon the Twentieth Ultimo, W^m.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Lea Jn^o Cope & Dr. Crichton, the Persons Impower'd by Mr. Lister & his Wife, to Enquire into the Deceas'd Mrs. Phipps's Affairs here, Conven'd the Caboceers of this Town, Together Wth Eccoo, Your Hon^{rs} Linguist at Succondee, who is the nearest Relation to the Deceas'd: Strict Enquiry was Made into the Severall Steps taken by James Hope in those Affairs, w^{ch} he is Charg'd with As Unwarrantable, such as, Clandestinely opening the Grave & riffling the Dead, whipping the Friends & Relations to Extort Confessions from them & his having mony & effects in his hands, belonging to the Dec^d to a Great Value. As to the first, the Caboceers, & Eccoo inform'd that he (Eccoo) & Mungo (another near Relation of the Deceas'd) because of the small Quantity of Gold that Appear'd to be in the Possession of Mrs. Phipps at her Death Apprehend'd, that a Great Deal had been burid there with her by her Servants in Order as they (Eccoo & Mungo) Suspect'd, when the ground shou'd at anytime be Open'd to bury a White Man, that the S^d Gold was Intend'd to be Stole Away. to remove w^{ch} Suspicion they (Eccoo & Mungo) beg'd that the Grave Might be Open'd, in Order to Inspect into the Coffin; upon w^{ch} James Hope Consult'd the Caboceers, whether or not they Apprehend'd any Pallaver might Ensur upon such an Action? They Assur'd him that there was no Danger Or Reason To Dread any Troublesome Consequence to result therefrom. After Receiving that Asurance he Gave Permission to Open the Grave, w^{ch} was Accordingly Done in Presence of the S^d Eccoo & Mungo, & the Caboceers of this Town & what Gold they Took from the Corpse, was brought by Eccoo & Mungo & Deliver'd by them to James Hope. At the same time James Hope gave Positive Orders, that No Person, white or Black, belonging to the Company shou'd Be Present At such Opening or meddle with Anything that belong'd to the Dec^d. The Caboceers & Eccoo further Inform'd as to the 2^d that he (Eccoo) & Mungo Likewise Desir'd, that 3 of the Deceas'd's Servants shou'd be taken into Custody & Whipt, Particularly her Key Keeper, who, they Believ'd, were Privy to the Abstracting a Large Quantity of Gold. This Mr. Hope was also so Cautious in as to Take the Caboceers Opinion, before he wou'd Proceed in it & upon their Informing him, that it was a thing Customary, he Order'd the S^d Servants to be Gently Whip'd, but as they made no Discovery they were Dismiss'd.³³

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

Cape Coast Castle, April 1, 1713. Grosvenor
Phipps } to Edward Chester
Blean

They sent a Company's Ship to Whidah for slaves without success—"She being obliged to return here again to prevent the Exorbitant Customes that's paid there to the King and Cabbishers, if Cleared from thence."³⁴

Cape Coast Castle, June 10, 1714 from Seth Grosvenor
James Phipps }
Robert Blean

. . . There is a Small Girle Slave on Board y^e Woosley which was presented to Mr. Joseph Stookes, chief Mate, by a Cabbash^r. at Abigga, a place to Leeward of y^e River Vulture where he was Sent in the Boat Trading. . . .³⁵

York Fort Rd. Sherbrow 29th Janry. 1714/15 from Richard Smith. . . . The River is not Settled as yet, Neither have they made any King of Sherbrow but every Town demanding a Cole as wee pass up the River, So that they make themselves all Kings." . . .³⁶

Cape Coast Castle, 23^d March 1714 from Messrs. Gerrord Gore,
James Phipps & Robert Blean

. . . Wee Cannot give your Honors any other Answer as to the Debts Due from the Natives than what Wee have already Advised, and it was to little Purpose to Continue them from time to time upon the Books, there having been many Revolutions in the Countries and Kingdoms that stand Indebted for the severall Sums, and for Instance the King of Aquassoe stands Indebted MLS 78,,7,,3 The present King lives upon the Charity of the Dutch at Shuma to whom he is also Indebted and has not a Slave to wait on him and there is no Tracing the Relations of Preceeding Kings and except the Queen & Country of Fettue who pay little now and then in Corn there can be nothing recovered of the rest Viz^t. Saboe King and Country of Fettue, King and Country of Arcania Cabb^{rs}. of Arcania. . . .³⁷

³⁴ T. 70/3, p. 35.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

COMMENDA FORT DIARY

Nov. 4, 1714.

We are Inform'd y^e Cufferoes are In armes and have fallen on some of Jn^o Cabess's Croomes y^r upon Jn^o has sent Antebenine an Atkantee Cabb^r q^o Lives here To make up all Differences.

10th (Nov. 1714)

Arrived here some Ashantee Traders & acquaint me there are more in y^e Warsaw Countrey on their way hither but are affraid of Coming forward because of y^e Cufferoes q^o at present are in Armes against Jn^o Cabess. But Jn^o has promised not to make any Disturbance on his part till y^e Traders are gone yⁿ he Designs to fight y^m

20 (Nov. 1714)

This morning Jn^o Cabess acquainted me that Antebenine y^r Ashantee Call^r had sent him word that he had made up all pallavers with y^e Cufferoes & will be down here himself in a day or Two The Termes are for Jn^o To pay 2 Bendys and a fall Sheep One Bendy qre of he has paid with y^e fall sheep But y^e Thing is so very Easy I am very dubious y^o of however I have spoke to y^e Messing^r q^o Relates y^e same way q^t Notwithstanding is no Argument for y^e Truth of it for I have found that there is never a Black hereabouts but must say whatever Jn^o Bids them so that I cannot be Certain of y^e Truth of any thing that's Told Me—Nay y^e Compⁿ Own Slaves dare not tell me q^t they know by all Jn^{os} Roguery were it never so great is Conceald.

Feb. 23, 1714/5

This Day Arrived some Ashantee Traders accompanyd by a Messing^r from y^e King of Ashantee To Tell me that The Ways for Trade were Stopt by the Cufferoes on Jn^o Cabess's Acco^t & Till Jn^o made up that pallaver q^t was y^e Occasion thereof We Coud expect no trade here. The said King has Returnd Jn^o a present of a Sheep with four Horns y^t he sent him--With this Word That he must first Make up his pallavers y^t are y^e Occasion of the Ways being Stopt and qⁿ they were open for Trade he might find them & him Ready to Receive, his present. He also sent word to y^e Cufferoes that if it's their fault that the pallaver is not made up he will oblige them to accept of any Termes. This The Messenger Told the Cufferoes in his way hither q^o he Says are Ready to make it up but Still Insist on their former demands, y^t is 3 Bendys & as many fatted Sheep qre of There is one Paid.

April 5, 1715

In time of the Cuifferoe wars Bumbo Cudgeo a Cuifferoe man Pawnd his Wife at Elmina & went himself to Akim qn after the Warr Returning & wanting money to Redeem her Askd Apeo Cousine to Jn° Cabess to Lend him some But he not being Able To Advance so much money at that time and Yet willing to Oblige him, Took a Boy formerly given him to keep By a Cuifferoe man at the Beginning of the said Warr, and pawnd him for six pees to a man of Cape Coast called Cansue & therewith Redeem'd the said Woman at Elmina. Sometime afterw^{ds} Fance—Sister to Stoockomee being at Cape Coast Saw the Boy & knowing him Gave him to Mr. Phipp to keep in the Castle Lest he might be again Stole or Sold by his Master & being then Sure to Receive him after the pallavers were over;—When, the Cuifferoes Comeing to demand the People as Women & Children &c q^m they had given the Gentⁿ to protect in time of the warrs—also demanded this Boy q^m Mr. Phipp in Respect the Boy was a pawn deny'd to Deliver till the money was paid. But the Cuifferoes being very uneasy and Importunate the Gentⁿ Sent to Jn° Cabess their Own Boy Intim & Bawffoe a Cuifferoe man Desireing his Cusine Apeo to Redeem the Boy q^m he had unjustly pawn'd. But Jn° woud hearken to Nothing and beat them Both out of his Town with contempt q^{re} upon they Return'd & Told the Gentⁿ how he had Treated them & Represented now much all the Cufferoes were affected with the Boys Rem^{ed} in Iron To q^e the Gentⁿ Answerd they Might Take what Satisfaction of Jn° they Cowld q^t was the occasion of the first Difference—After q^t Jn° Redeemed & Return'd the Boy but Not till His Mother had Stab'd herself for want of her Sone q^t is also a pallaver on Jn° and the Occasion of the Continuance of this. However they have Ended al^l pallavers and in considderation of the Wrong done by Jn° he has paid them 4 Bendys q^{re} of part is to be sent to y^e King of Ashantee for his Trouble therein.

I have seen them take fetish & show Each other all marks of Friendship and Heard them Renounce all pallavers and Demands on Each other. . . . Note Jn° Cabess at the makeing of this pallaver abundantly show'd by his Equivocations and false pallavers, His Unwillingness to compose the Difference & Bent Inclinaⁿ to Turbulence & I coud heartily wish the Cuifferoes were either altogether Rowted or Enjoy'd the peaceable possession of their Countrey for they are at present onely a Scatterd Nation harrassing their Neighbours q^{uever} they have opportunity onely Liveing by

plunder & Roguery q^t will never Do Right where they at present are the Trade of this place being obligd to pass that way which is scarce ever free of pallavers between that proud Turbulent Nation & Jn^o Cabess's stiff necked people.

Aug. 4, 1715.

Arrived here some Ashantee Traders they acquaint me that a great many more are on their way hither But they (sic) come have Onely Gold for Guns and Powder They acqn^d me that those following have Abundance of both Gold & Teeth but no Slaves; what they have Caught in their Last Battel with Gingebrā—A Country beyond Ashantee being so very Maugre & Lean that are not as Yet able to Undergo the fatigue of So farr a journey to be Vendible when Come here.

Sept. 14, 1715.

This day an Ashantee man Shott himself in This Town q^t Enquiring into find That Sometime ago Aqua one of Jn^o Cabess's Sones took upon him to Sell a Slave for him To the Interlopers at Anamaboe But haveing Brought nothing back but Rumm, This Ashantee man panyarrd y^e Sone of the Canoeman who was partly Intrusted with The Sale of the Slave & Sold him to the Dutch greupon The Canoeman Bringing a Pallav^r In q^t this Ashantee man was found in y^e Wrong—for Shame & Anger Shott himself hereupon.³⁸

Gambia, Aug. 9, 1722 from Messrs. Glynn
Ramsey
& Willey

. . . In the Month of Oct. last Mr. Glynn had a Man Slave sent him as a present by the King of Geregia." . . .³⁹

Extracts of letters from Whidah.

Messrs. Somers Gregory & Mills write May 20, 1739.

∴ we determined to sail the next day, but tis hardly credible the difficulty there is to get the people of this Country to set out on any expedition from their Homes, for first they must be paid three months advance, then they must make their Fetish as they call it, without which they will not stir. . . .⁴⁰

³⁸ T. 70/1464.

³⁹ T. 70/4, p. 32.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

ABSTRACT FROM THE MINUTES KEPT BY W. CHARLES ON
BENCE ISLAND FROM APRIL, 1727⁴¹

Monday, May 20, 1727

(Some slaves were being whipped in an effort to discover the whereabouts of one recently escaped.)

“at last One Begged to Speak and he would tell all, the Substance whereof was that it will be in Vain to Expect any Other Confession from them, they Only proposed their freedom and Escape, and to that Purpose had bound themselves Solemnly by their Fetiches buried in the Ground, which were to Destroy them if ever they Proved false to One Another, and as a Proof of his Sincerity, he would Discover the Place where One of these Fetiches lay hid, but that was all he Could, or would Say, and begg'd not to be whip'd any more—well, I send to the Place where he Names, and Accordingly the Fetiche is found, my People laugh at it and take it to pieces, but all the Castle Slaves and Grometoes Seem afraid of it, and will not touch it for my Consideration, Such Superstitious Credulity are these People Fixed in, On the Effects of these Fetiches as they Call them, this was Only a few Splinters of Bamboo, in a Bundle, and then about five or six peices of Old Iron and Nails, all Tyed up with Tarred Twine, then Greased all over & put into a Canvas Bagg, like a Tobacco Pouch, this wrapt up and so put under Ground, I smiled at the Simplicity of their Beliefe, but their Fetiche men and Priests even persuades them into a firm beleife, that any thing made up by them and in their way Consecrated, or designed for a Fetiche, will Assuredly work good & evill Effects, as the Issue of what they Expect, and propose to themselves by so doing; O Horrid Ignorance much to be pittied and Lamented; So many millions of People are unhappily Born Under its Shade, and Dye also without any better knowledge; The Black Cook tho a Gold Coast Negroe, yet Shut the Door of the Cook room, when Some of the People wanted to Come and throw the Fetiche into the Fire, Such an Influence these foolerys have Over all the Negroes, nay the black white Portuguese are as much afraid of them, notwithstanding their profession of Christianity and will not Touch nor remove a Fetiche for the world, they even Consult them, and in their Sickness make Use of the Fetiche men's Charms and Application for Cure.

.....

The Smith is a most Ingenious fellow and Capable of Learning any thing to perfection.

⁴¹ T. 70/1465.

Monday, May 27th 1727.

Upon the King of the Bango's Causing bring up what Rice and Camwood he had brought, I seemed Surprized at the Smallness of the Quantity, which he took Notice of, and made a long apology, for not bringing more wood, telling me that ever Since he was here, all his people have been busy in their Lengares, and that till all the Rice is in the Ground, it is not possible for them to go about any Other business, that he Only now Came to see me, and brought me what wood he had, and some Rice with a Small Tooth a present, but that he was resolved to Use all his endeavours to get what wood he Could, and hoped he should Prevail on all his people to go up the Country and to Cutt it, as soon as they had done sowing their Rice, and necessity Obliges them to mind it, for they hardly Sow more than just enough for their wants, very little to spare for a Market, Such is the natural lazyness of all the People of this River in generall ⁴²

ABSTRACTS IN RE SIERRE LEONE

Satyrday Aug, 31, 1728.

re Seniora Maria (the head of a tribe) ("indeed she is a woman of admirable good sense, & upon sundry occasions, I have heard her argue & talk on trade & the Interest of the Country, very solidly & serious") ⁴³

Friday, Sept. 6. 1728.

. . . "It was about Sun sett before Capt. Stockwell could get up his anchor, in order to new birth, & when up, the vessell swung to her other anchor, which made the people on shore Conclude we were going away, & thereupon we were alarm'd w grievous Cryes and Lamentations from the Shore, being the Methers & women in pain for their Sons & Relations, the Grometo Prisoners on board, at the same time loudly begging me to land them, for the people on shore were going to fire upon us." . . .

"I hail'd the Shore with the speaking trumpet, & told Zachary (the head of the tribe) if they did not immediately leave off firing, I would hang all the prisoners on board; the poor man reply'd in a most mournfull tone, & beg'd of me to land his Sons (as he cail'd them all) for that he could not hinder the white men from firing." ⁴⁴

⁴² T. 70/1465.

⁴³ This is from an abstract of most material occurrences in the district of Sierra Leone. T. 70/1467.

⁴⁴ This was a quarrel between the officer of the African Company and some private traders. T. 70/1467.

Tuesday, Jan. 7, 1729

There is at present a great Number of Slaves at this place, the people being at war with those of Baffoe where the Malagrieta us'd formerly to be bought in plenty, but the people of Cetera Crew make daily Inroads upon them, & bring off many Slaves, which is the reason of their plenty, & also of the Scarcity of Malangueta, of which Commodity I have yet seen none ⁴⁵

Friday 24 (August 1750)

Observed a Party of People in the Town of Bossu, with their Musquets Clubbed, a Signal of Peace among the Blacks.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty

May it please your Majesty

In obedience to your Majesty's Commands signified to us by a Letter from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle dated the 12th of May last we have perused the Memorial presented to your Majesty by Mr. Bulfinch Lamb and have discoursed with him concerning the Letter which he lately delivered to your Majesty, as from the Emperor of Pawpaw in Africa.

We have also consulted upon this matter with the Royal African Company, & with the separate Traders to Africa, & have been attended by some Commanders of Ships & others, who have lately frequented the Coast of that Countrey.

Where upon we beg leave to represent to your Majesty that both the African Company & separate Traders believe the said Letter not to be genuine, and therefore we cannot be of Opinion, that any Return should be made to it. But on the other hand it is admitted by the Royal African Company, that the aforesaid Mr. Lamb did bring down 80 Slaves to Whidaw from the Emperor of Pawpaw; and as we do believe that 40 of them may have been sent by that Emperor as a Present to Your Majesty; we humbly conceive that the Produce of the said 40 Slaves, which is lodged in the hands of the Royal African Company should be laid out in a proper Present to be returned from Your Majesty to the Emperor of Pawpaw, with such an addition to it as your majesty shall think convenient; & that this Present together with the Black Man, who is called Adomo Oroonoco Tomo, should be sent back to Africa on board any one of Your Majesty's Men of War which may be ordered for that Coast; and the Commander may receive proper Instruc-

⁴⁵ This is from a "Diary of Minute Occurrences and Transactions in the District of Sierra Leone." T. 70/1467.

tions for conducting this affair in such a manner as may be most conducive to your Majesty's Honour & the Benefit of your Subjects trading to that Coast.

We further think that to promote the Commerce of this Nation in Africa, it may be convenient a Letter should be wrote to the said Emperor of Pawpaw by one of your Principal Secretarys of State, by this Board, in which he should be made acquainted with your Majesty's good Will towards him: That your Majesty has received his Present of Slaves, and accepts his Offers of friendship and good Correspondence made on his part by your Subject Mr. Lamb; and that your Majesty returns his Servant, Adomo Oroonoco Tomo safe to his hands, accompanied with the aforesaid Present, desiring at the same time, that he would give your Majesty's Subjects all possible protection and encouragement to carry on their trade in his territories.

As to Mr. Bulfinch Lanbe, since there is reason to doubt whether the Letter he delivered your Majesty was genuine, we are humbly of Opinion, that neither the Present nor the Black should be intrusted to his care, but that he should be left at liberty to return to Africa, or otherwise to dispose of himself, as he shall think proper.

Whitehall 6th

July 1731

T. PELHAM

M. BLADEN

P. DORMINIQUE

JA. BRUDENELL⁴⁶

RICHARD GRAVES TO (COUNCIL AT CAPE COAST)

James Fort Accra April 3, 1742.

.....
It seems Apocho among the rest of the pretences for this Warr with the Ackims says it was to serve the Quomboos who were drove out of their Country by the Ackims; and he says he will now do all he can to serve the Danes because they Assisted the Quomboos, and now he says that he knows the Dutch were principally concerned in hireing that Warr upon the Quomboos, and that the English were Neuter in it. If these are his Sentiments I don't see that if there doth come any Trade thro' him to this place but we shall have as fair or rather a better Chance than the Dutch (If the place is well supplied.)

We are pretty sure that Apocho is at Banquendens Croom, where he hath been some time, and that he hath Dispersed severall parties

⁴⁶ Colonial Office, 267/5.

of his people all about the Ackim, Quomboo and Aroffoo Countrys with Orders to all people that may have taken any Ackims or other people prisoners to keep them for him and that if he hears any of them do sell a Slave that they have Catched since his Defeating the Ackims he will be reimbursed by them, he sent the same Message to Ningo and Tuberkoo two days ago: It is likewise Reported that he will be in the Quomboo Country sometime within the Compass of the next Boon Day which begins to-Morrow. I am also very well Informed that Darracoon is Dead. I acquainted you in my Letter of the 20th March that he was left by his people with only two Boys with him (to continue it): He Immediately went into a Bush and sent the Boys away, but one of them his Fetish Boy (a Quomboo born) Betrayed him to Popisaa a Quomboo Cabboceer; Popissaa went directly to him and told him he would now make him pay for what his Father had done who was the Chief Instrument of killing the Quomboo Country, Darracoon offered to give him a hundred Bendies of Gold to save his Life and offered to stay with him till the Money came but that would not satisfye him he did not want Money but Revenge and that Instant Struck off his Head: he afterwards would have had the rest of the Cabboceers to join with him in the Action and I hear he offered the Head to Cuntoo the King of Acroan but the Cabboceers and Cuntoo refused to have anything to doe with it, as there was not any Money with it their Reasons are that Apocho will require the Head when he hears who hath it and if he finds there is not Money with it he may take it in his head to make the Man in whose possession it is Shorter by the Head.⁴⁷

A NOTE ON THE BACK OF MR. ROBERT'S LETTER TO THE
COUNCIL AT CAPE COAST CASTLE

Jan. 31, 1746. Dixcove.

Gentlemen,

Mr. Robert's Canoe just stopping here, I take this Opportunity to Acq^t you, Tanda, Ancuma, Amanquow & all the Towns people are here drinking and firing Away, Say they will talk pallaver to Morrow. The Dutch Chief wants to panyar on them, and will not Answer my flag.

THOMAS BOTELER ⁴⁸

⁴⁷ T. 70/1515.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Commenda Fort July the 16th 1746.

The Pynins⁴⁹ of the Fishermen of Commenda Town being Convened in the Fort before James Craik Esq Chief Agent, Thomas Boteler Chief of the Fort, John Duncombe and Cornelius Grimm Winters, Were desired to declare the Ancient Customs regarding the use of the Landing Place of Commenda to which they made the following Reply.

That the Landing place or Bay at Commenda has always been free to both English and Dutch Nations, And they declare they never knew any dispute between the Forts, concerning their Use or Rights of the said Bay, but that it always was Understood as common to both, and in regard to the Canoo Shades, they Affirm that the Chiefs used to alter them as they thought fitt, sometimes Building it in one place and sometimes in another; They further say when Mr. Rams was Chief of the Dutch Fort, and Mr. Besouth Chief of the English Fort there happen'd some dispute, between the Natives fishermen of both Towns, concerning the Particular Bounds for Landing of their Canoos, in which dispute There was two Men of the Dutch Town killed, but the decision of the Boundary's being left by the Chiefs of both Forts to the Fishermen themselves, Assamah at that Time being head Man on the Dutch, and Aquaba on the English side, it was by them Agreed that a Stake should be set up on a particular spott, somewhere near about the middle where the Two Canoo Shades last stood, And that ever since that Time all that part of the Bay Lying to the Eastward of that stake, has retained the Name of the Dutch Landing place, As that part to the Westward thereof has that of the English Landing Place.

They further say that the reason of the Forts moving there Shades so close to the landing place as they last stood, Was by a joint Agreement of the Chiefs then at the Forts, in order to prevent the Natives from carrying on An Illicit Trade on board of private ships in the Night Time.

As a further convincing Proof of a right of the English Subjects landing in Common with Dutch, They Unanimously declare that even the Dutch fishermen, as well as themselves, always at their return from Fishing, used to pay a Toll or Custom to John Cabess The English Cabb^r. of Commenda: because as they say he had made a purchase of the Ground from the then King of Aquaffoo.

Writing being not in practice amongst the Natives, We before whom this Declaration was made, have hereunto set our hands in

⁴⁹ Pynins means "Old Men," the senate of the ancient nations.

Testimony that the above is the True substance & Meaning of their Declaration.

JAMES CRAIK
THOMAS BOTELER
JOHN DUNCOMBE
CORNELIUS GRIMM ⁵⁰

Commenda Fort July the 16th 1746.

Cudjoe Ackinnie an English Fisherman belonging to the English Town Saith as follows

One day having been out a fishing he caught only one Fish, called a Cavally, which before he came ashoar He Split and Boned as is Customary, and on landing took his basket with the fish in it out of the Canoo, and set it on the Beach.

(Here follows the story of a quarrel between him and Dutch over the fish.)

July 14, 1746.

Henry Faulkener testifying as to what he knows of this palaver says the Dutch and English fishermen had a skirmish with stones and sticks.

. . . "Since the above there was a great Army of Blacks in the Dutch Town, who danc'd about the Landing place with a great many Flags flying, and Hoisted one Dutch flagg at our Landing place." ⁵¹

In Peter Lesly's account of a palaver between the Dutch and English concerning their rights to a certain part of the shore—

July 13, 1746.

"the Beach was covered with Dutch Blacks, Arm'd with Knives, Cutlasses, and Staffs." ⁵²

Commenda Fort July 16th 1746.

Cudjoe Ackinnie an English Fisherman belonging to the English Town, saith as follows—

One day having been out a fishing, he caught only one Fish called a Cavally, which before he came on shoar he split, and boned as is Customary, and on his landing took his Baskett with the Fish in it out of the Canoe, and set it on the Beach, and while he with his Companion was carrying the Canoe to its usual Stand, he say a Dutch Company Slave Named Accra take hold on his Baskett. ⁵³

⁵⁰ T. 70/1515.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² T. 70/68.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

Winnebah Fort Nov^r. 7. 1749.

Sir

Captain Gillet is now here as likewise Captain Charron's Boat who came from Cape Coast in Search of him. I was Obligated to give a piece of Cloth for Custom for the Towns people to take water out of the River as I have Little in the Tanke.

WILL WITHERS.

To Thomas Boteler Esq.⁵⁴

THE COUNCIL'S ANSWER TO THE RETURN OF THE LORDS OF TRADE

As to the Chiefs keeping the Paths shut so as to confine the trade, within the Extent of their own Monopoly, it is out of their power to do it even were they ever so inclined which however cannot be Supposed to be the Case, as it is obvious the more Slaves they buy the more Profit they have to refute this Charge we beg Leave to make the following Remarks—It often happens that the Capⁿ of a Ship on his Arrival at Annamoboe barter for One Half or a third of his Cargo to the Chiefs at the different Forts and purchases the Remainder from the Natives; this last part of the Cargo is very often disposed of before the Chiefs have collected a sufficient Number of Slaves to pay for their part, and in such Case they are put to the disagreeable Necessity of *borrowing a Number from some other Ship*, or what is still more so to the Chiefs when no Slaves are to be borrowed *detaining the Ship*; some few Instances have been known of this kind, which God knows if only for 2 days causes murmuring enough Now if the Chiefs had it in their Power to shut and open the paths at pleasure, there wou'd be no necessity for us to be put to either of those Inconveniences.

Every judicious Master of a Ship or other Persons experienced in this trade, must well know that all the Presents, Messages and intreaties in the World will never prevail on the Fantees to let the Shantees come down thro' their Country; this has been the sole Bone of Contention, between those 2 Nations for many years past, and from the opinion of many able Men, it appears that should the King of Shantee once find his way to the Waterside, he would make a Conquest of the Fantees and thereby become sole Master of the Whole Country called the Gold Coast, that is to say from Cape Appolonia to the River Volta, a measure that would not only change

⁵⁴ T. 70/1515.

the Situation of Affairs, but probably be attended with the total Loss of the British Interest in this Country. the mode of carrying on trade between the Fantees and 'Shantees is by establishing Markets at different places, near the Boundaries of their respective territories; here the Several Traders meet, where the 'Shantees exchange their Slaves and other Commodities for European Goods, carried up by the Fantees, and these latter bring them down to the Waterside; while it is the Interest as well as Duty of the Committee's Officers to maintain & encourage an intercourse of this kind, the Publick cannot doubt of its being done; in Justice to the Committee's Servants however we beg Leave to Observe that if any further restrictions are laid on their trade, many Occasional Presents which are now made by themselves must be paid by the Public.

. . . Coast money, being unknown among the Blacks, of course they were obliged to be paid in Trade which is the common Currency of the Country.⁵⁵

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MESSRS. ROBERT, HUSBANDS AND
BOTELER TO MR. CLIFTON AT ANNAMABOE—
CAPE COAST CASTLE 22 FEBY. 1749

. . . We observe there are two French ships trading one at Cormantine the other Amissa. & are very much surprised John Currantee should suffer them to Trade after the Promises he made Com^{rs} Pye & Mr. Roberts & desire you will inform him we expect he will concert proper Measures with yourself to prevent their Trading by panyering their Boats or hindering the Natives from trafficking wth. them which if he does not do we will write home to the K^s. our Master & Lord Halifax that he does not act for the Service of the English in the Manner he ought and is expected from the honourable Treatment his Son meets with in England. so that you must insist upon Currantees panyering the French Boats & assure him we will pay him a Bendy a head for each Man and two Bendys each Boat. Consult with him w^h is best to be done and put it in Execution directly by which you will do Service to your Country as an Englishman.⁵⁶

MR. CLIFTON'S ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING LETTER DATED
Annamaboe 6th March 1749.

This Evening came to an Anchor one French Ship which fired when she came to. As to what you think about John Currantees

⁵⁵ T. 70/1536. 1, p. 13.

⁵⁶ T. 70/1194.

not trading with them or his endeavouring to prevent the Towns-people from so doing it is no such Thing. Currantee will not endeavour to assist to drive them away but will & does trade with them & encourage the Natives to do the same. So that if your Honours has not the Assistance of some of the Ships it never can be done. I also see wⁿ the French Ships come to an Anchor here, the English Ships in the Road never endeavour to prevent or molest them. As to the French Ships that were here and you wrote about John Currantee woud not hear a Word about panyering their Boats notwithstanding the great Offers made him of so much p man & Boat, pretending he had no Canoes for that Purpose so that I might sit down & suck my Fingers for w^t Assistance I was to expect from him.⁵⁷

ENGLISH CAPTAINS TO THE COUNCIL AT CAPE COAST DATED
ON BOARD THE POLLY IN ANNAMABOE ROAD—
18 MARCH 1749

A French Ship of 12 Guns having anchored here last Night we thought it our Duty as Brittish Subjects trading to Africa to prevent his trading as much as possible, We therefore in a Body went on board this Morning, and represented to the Captain of the French Ship that he had not any Title to anchor or trade here or any where between Cape three points & River Volta and desired him to be gone as it was infringing on the Libertys of the Brittish Nation which woud not be put up with and that he woud not think much of it, if we used all the means in our Power to prevent the Natives from trading with him. To all which we received Answer that if any Treaty could be produced between his Brittish Majesty and the French King to the above Effect he woud immediately sail hence if not he woud trade here unless prevented by superior Force and as to any order from Cape Coast Castle he valued it not & woud not obey it. This being an Affair that nearly concerns the Trade of Annamaboe and all the Gold Coast we thought it proper to lay the same before you that such Methods may be taken as the Case requires assuring you at the same Time that nothing in our Power shall be wanting in assisting and putting in Execution any Thing that shall be agreed upon to preserve the Trade and Interest of the Brittish Nation.⁵⁸

(Signed)	SAM ROWLES	WM. CANFIELD	DAV BUCHANAN
	ALEX. GRAHAM	JNO. SHERMAN	
	JAMES CARR	CHRIST BENNETT	

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

ANSWER OF THE COUNCIL OF CAPE COAST CASTLE

19 March 1749/50.

...
 (if the French Captⁿ persists in lying at Anamaboe) We can not advise other than to arm one of y^r Ships in such Manner as to oblige him to weigh; We have to contribute Men Guns & Ammunition which if you think plausible & of putting in Execution command them, Mr. Jn^o Roberts will go himself, at the Head of the People we send down to assist if his Influence will be of the least Service; any Supplys we are impowered to send shall be dispatched without Loss of Time; We already have taken every Method to prevent the French trading there or getting Water at Amissa having entered into Engagements with John Currantee for y^e Purpose and a few days ago sent him a 13 hand Canoe the better to enable him to seize French Boats if any attempted to land and trade or to water at Amissa, for his Encouragement we assured him of Oz 2 P head for each Man and Oz 4 each Boat he should send up here but there is no Dependance upon him notwithstanding we endeavour to make it his Interest zealously to put our Requests in Execution.

We have herewith wrote to Mr. Clifton the Company's Factor at Anamaboe ordering him to be very pressing with Currantee and particularly so at this Juncture and to repeat to him the great Generositys to his Son in England & large Rewards offered him by the Council here if the Natives will panyer & send up Men or Boats.⁵⁹

MESSRS. ROBERTS & CO TO THE COMMANDING OFFICERS OF
 THE FRENCH VESSELS OFF CORMANTINE &
 AMISSA DATED

Cape Coast Castle 22 feb^{ry}. 1750.

We are surprised to find by a Letter recd from the Royal African Company's Factor at Annamaboe, you should presume to anchor between Cape Apollonia & the River Volto. You cannot be insensible all the Trade on that Part of the Coast is the undoubted Right of the Royal African Company of England & Subjects thereof where they have Forts & Settlements & in a more particular Manner the Fantine Country where you are at Anchor, the Braffoe or Lord Paramount of it being a Servant of the said Company & receives a considerable annual Allowance which gives them an undoubted Right to the Trade thereof. You may assure yourself if you dont immediately weigh Anch^r. we shall take Measure to prevent your

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

trading on this Side the Volto as we are determin'd to protect & support his Majestys Subjects in their Trade on the Gold Coast. We shall also make proper Representations of your Infringements on the Brittish Property & Jurisdiction to our Constituents who will take Care to represent the same to the Legislature of Great Britain.

We insist you immediately weigh and proceed on your Voyage, the Consequences that attend your Stay will be your own seeking.⁶⁰

ABSTRACTS FROM VARIOUS LETTERS

This is to Certifye whome it may Concern that when I left the Coast of Africa in the month of Oct^r. 1747 John Currantee followed the Rippon Man of War four Leagues to sea in order to beg of me to redeem his son who had been sold at Barbadoes for a Slave in Case of the Death of Mr. Crichton and assured me that he would pay me any Cost I was at in Redeeming him as he s^d he was very desirous to see him and I do affirm that I think the said Redemption most Expedient and Necessary and may be of great Service is Consistent with the Character of the British Nation on the Gold Coast and which I was determin'd to have done in Case Mr. Crichton had died or neglected the same. In Witness I have hereunto set my hand 4th Dec. 1749.

JON. ROBERTS.

David Crichton Esq.

Dear S^r.

According to my promise I send you the Certificate you desired there was some things in yours that did not Consist with my knowledge as to his being a Bastard or not and about the price you gave for him I wish it may be of any use to you as I do you health and success and am S^r

Downs 6th Dec. 1749 ⁶¹

John Roberts to Henry Lasselles—London 23^d March.

I went there (Annamaboa) with Captain Pye on Board of the Surprize and after giving John Currantee a Hat & Feather Scarlet Cloaths and Considerable quantity of Liquor Informed him I came from the King & Legislature of Great Britain as well as the Company & Expatiating upon the generous & polite treatment of his Son in England told him I had positive orders not to trade with the French or to suffer French Ships to Anchor bet. Cape Appolonia

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ T. 70/1476, p. 34.

& the River Volto, unless distressed for Water &c that on such Emergency they were to apply to the Council at C. C. C. I insisted Currantee should give me Assurances before his Matys Captain that he would not suffer any ffrench to traffick with the Natives of the Fantine Country, which he at first refused, pretending he must Summons the Inhabitants together, and Consult them; but being no stranger to his Artfull manner at Evasion, persisted on his mak-g an open & Honest declaration. Currantee said the Natives had traded wth the French, & bo^t large Quantitys of Liquors & Commodities for adulterated Gold not worth 12/ oz and had sold thein their refuse Slaves, which English traders would not meddle with.

We gave Currantee the strongest assurances of representing to His Maty. his Fidelity & strong attachm^t to p^rmote English trade & suppress the French, Currantee asked w^t the King had sent him. I told him his Maty. was not sufficiently satisfied of his Friendship to his Subjects but as soon as he was he might depend on a grand present worthy his desert & becoming the donation of our Royal Master which just made impression enough upon him to make us a faint p^rmise that he would Endeavour to distress the French and assist to rebuild the fort at Annamaboa, which I think to fix the plan of and to clear all the remainder of the old Works, and lay in p^rper Materials &c (if Supplied) in 2 yrs hope to p^rfect. I likewise intend y^e same at Aga, the Natives here being full as Numerous (as) at Annamaboa and will always carry off the trade to thiers that will give the best price, which it is not in the power of John Currantee or a ffort at Annamaboa to p^rvent. Being to go on board the Humber, I promised Jn^o Currantee to lye at Annamaboa the next Night, at a Factory we have Established there, & desired him to call together the chiefs of the Fantine Country to Consult them ab^t opening the Paths which have been closed these seven years. . . .

As an Extraordinary motive to induce John Currantees Assiduity, I assured him if any ffrenchman offered to send their boats on shore to trade, and his people would Panyere them, they should be paid at C. C. C. 8£ for each Man and 16£ for each Boat, But Currantee is such an artfull selfish ffellow there is no depending upon him, he regards nothing but w^t tends to his present Advantage, and has not the least notion of returning a favour, or doing a good office, a continual succession of p^rsents gain a repeated succession of promises, but few good works from him. I never knew a man such a Stranger to all good offices & cursed with more bad qualities;

the generosities to his Boy in England are of little Concern to him, and no Avail at all to us, I am concerned the World have been so imposed on, in that affair For he is not Jn^o Currantees Son, His Mother being a Quamboa Woman, and was bo^t for a Slave by Currantee when the Boy sucked at her breast and he kept her for his Wench, this information you may depend upon hav'g reced it from sev^l gent on this Coast as well as Blacks, two of the former were Agents here, to wit Mess^{rs}. Chalmer & Craick and go Home by this opportunity of the Dolphin.

.

I am sensible yourself will Judge it very hard & strange that the English should have . . . a right to Elect whom they please to the stool (the Natives Emblem of Royalty) even over that part of the Country were the Dutch Fort stands & the Natives under protection of s^d ffort, are subject to one Elector by their own laws, and yet not have a landing place without permission first reced from a Petty chief of an insignificant Dutch Fort.

.

In the former part of this Letter I hinted to you a short specimen John Currantee of J. C. Character—all such attempts you are well sensible cannot be otherways than imperfect through the short space the Compress of a Letter will admit of, for such a Recitall, yet as it occurs to my Memory, I beg leave to recede from the claim of Facts I had in hand, and to give you a little Impression of Cudjoe, (the Boy Fredericks Father) a Man Exactly opposite to Currantee, ffair, Honest & Just in his dealings, truly sensible of Honour & Humanity, Generous to an Englishman whom he Loves as his Life, and Honours Obedient & full of Respect to His Maty & Royal African Company, who when affairs were at the lowest ebb & chiefs reduced to a Condition almost unable to keep the Forts in tenure generously offered to Expend his own property to keep them up for the Service of His Maty and Royal African Company. I cannot Enlarge his Character in Trafic here is not his Equal being inveterate to Foreigners Enemies to our Royal Maj & to Competitors in trade wth his Subjects and most say his Son Frederick is more Eminently deserving of English Complaisance, than the Boy W^m. Currantee and that Cudjoe Merits a Dasho i. e. a Present of the best sort, the Expence of which when ever it meets approbation will be better calculated than twice the Money laid out in Commodities for trade.

What are we doing at Cape Coast Castle by not trading with the

French; why in truth Sir nothing but w^t tends to our disadvantage evidently, by giving the Dutch an opportunity to embrace them which must occasion an irreparable loss and decline to our trade, not more Sir as to w^t we should get but in w^t we shall be out of Pocket for Instance The Ashantee Slaves where the greatest number come from are bro^t down 30 or 40 at a time half of which are not markeatable to English Captains, yet we are obliged to p^rchase them for the Black traders (as you may well Judge) will not dispose of the good Slaves without the bad, we must take the good and bad as they go one wth another when we have done we deny ourselves the Benefit of the French to dispose of the refuse sort to whom the Dutch () and readily supply so that our Exceptionable Slaves lye upon our hands whereas it is every day in our power to dispose of them to the french were we allowed to do it (who will buy any Slaves).

You will also (?) a letter from Mr. Clifton the Companys factor at Annamaboa, whereby you will find how little Currantee is to (be) depended upon.⁶²

(In the attempt to settle a Palaver between the towns-people and the fort at Cape Coast Castle many messages were sent from one party to the other.)

Bossu sent his Messenger with his Hat and Elephants Tail.⁶³

In Roberts to John Vaughan Esq.

Cape Coast Castle 15th May 1750.

From the time Mr. Chalmer Removed me from the Command of Dixcove fort he continued there himself for the most part and by his tyranical treatment of the natives under his Command they all Came to a Resolution as we have found since to take Sanctuary under the Dutch & Overtures were made and expected for that purpose & Sometime after Mr. Stockwell's Arrival the dutch Cheif hoisted a Flagg at Busha at a little town belonging to the Comp^a within gun Shot (tho' not point Blank) a little hill lying betwixt it and Dixcove fort Mr. Nassau Senior the English Chief opposed it, with all the force he could muster and write to the Council at Cape Coast who assured him they would support him on which he got some of the Towns people to joyn him in the dispute but the Council finding the Govern^t Supplys did not arrive as they expected they found themselves not in Circumstances to Contest a Palavar (i. e.) Dispute was dropt by the English Council the dutch continuing to work under hand by bribeing the English subjects to bring

⁶² T. 70/1476.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

the affair again upon the Car pet and in April Ulto the Chief of Dixcove Fort informed the council that the English subjects had flew from their Allegiance and the Busha people had appeared in arms before the Fort, Seized and carried away four of the Comp^a Slaves and Committed several other Insults. on Receiv'g. the above account it was the oppinion of the Gentlemen upon the Coast as I had lived there and that the people had an Affection for me it would be proper I should go up there to which I Readily agreed and set out that night with a power from the Council to Settle the Affair as I judged proper Consistent with the Companys Honour. on my Arrival there 6th Ulto I Convined the principal Cabbaceers (i.e. the Heads of tows and the people and found on Examination they were so far Engaged with the Dutch and the Rebellious they had Joined and had taken Fettish (i.e.) a Ceremoney have Convinced Each Party of the others friendship and Confirming their Agreements as Sacred Amongst them as the Sacrament is to a European. in ling Affairs in Such Situation I Endeavored to gain them over to our Interest by fair promises and had the good fortune to bring Over Two of the Cabb^{rs} and their people and Offered the other the most favourable Terms but to no purpose. his heart was alinated from us for the Reasons before Mentioned with Aditonal presents & promises from the Dutch General who having no one to Controul him they pay him greate respect and place an Intire Confidence in him. our Rebellious Cabb^{rs}. Left the Town then I begun to put the Fort in a proper Posture of Defence to protect the people who Continued faithfull to the Company And Sent Spies out to see what the Enemies were doeing who returned after associating themselves with them and were present at their Consultation where it was Resolved that they would Attackt the Fort unless I would deliver to them the Two Cabb^{rs}. that Continued Faithfull to the English Interest. they further Informed me the Enemies said as there was no paropet Walls (thanks to Mr. Chalmers) we Coud not Stand to Fight the greate Guns I was Suprized At such resolutions being Taken by Barbarions but am Since Sattisfied they have benn well Instructed by our food friends and Allies the States Subjects upon the Coast and Immediately Sent to Cape Coast for Men Stores & Ammunition & c^a and begun to build paropets with Board and got everything in the best Order for our defence, to prevent their designs which we have found Since was to Take the Fort, the day I had the good Luck to finish about 50 Negroes Appeared in Arms within Muskett Shot of the Forts Vapouring and darsing me

to fire at them as they had done many days proceeding that and I had Taken no Notice of them as the Sloop we purchased was dry Repairing—but had fortunately hauld her afloat the day before, So ordered one of my Messengers a Canoe and Cap (a pasport in time of War) and go to our Cabbaseer and desire to know whether he would Come back to his Town or make War against the Company whose money he & his Father before him had Received and whose Servant he was and That his Town was as he had left it as I had prevented the Other people from destroying it and that was as I Told him before come there to Settle the dispute in an Ameiable manner and protect the Companys Subjects and not to distress them, when he had gone about Two Hundred Yards from the Fort he was Stopt by about 50 Men in Arms and Abused when he Returned & Informed me the Treatment he had Receiv^d Contrary to the Laws & Customs of the Country as Messengers from Europeans are Allways Allowed to pass and repass, I Ordered About 70 men to go and reconter them and bring them into the Castle as I Could not put up with Such an Insult but if they Discovered a greater Number of the Enemy then Themselves to Immediately return into the Fort. the people had not gone a Quarter of a Stile till there Issued out of the Woods Two or Three Thousand people. my people Retreated as I had Ordered but not without the Loss of one Man Killed and three Slightly Wounded. I got all my people upon the Battlements of Castle and Shutt the Gates it being at this Time about half an hour past Two O Clok in the Evening when our Rebellious Subjects Supported by the Dutch Negroes and Supplied with Ammunition by a Chief of a Dutch Fort within Two Leagues of the Companys Fort Dixcove who has himself within $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile of the Fort during the Engagement Attackt the Fort but paid dear for the presumption as they had the Insolence to Come within Fifty Yards of the Castle Walls and Fired Volleys at the Battlements and made their grand Attackt where I had made the paropet of boards which where a good defence haveing only one man wounded and that thru a port hole. we paid them off with our Patridge Shot so that at Night they had work Sufficient to Carry away their dead which we Saw from the Walls Lying in greate Numbers and by what we Could perceive on the Field of Battle Next day they will not Attempt to Attackt our Fort again.

.

He (a friendly Cabboccer) desires I would Build a Fort for the Company at Cape Appollonia a place the English & Dutch have

been both Attempting often times to Establish but Could never Succeed he, sent me word that he Only wanted Artificiers to Intrust his people as he and his Brother had a Sufficient Number of Labourers and that if I thought the Expence would be greate he & his Brother had Gold at my Service.⁶⁴

Succondee 25 May 1750

Roberts to the Dutch General (Mr. Sandra)

I am Obligated to you for releasing the Chee Chee and have Conformable to your Obliging Message by your first Boy Sent some of my Linguists people as you cannot but know Black Cabboccers when they Travel have many followers.⁶⁵

Dixcove, 29 May 1750.

Roberts to Cape Coast Castle (?)

His (Captain Dun's) Messenger (one Tom Coffee who I knew in England) Informs me he "will rise at three days notice and come down with 5000 men and drive the Ahantas to the Devil he will likewise send two of his favourite Sons to live with me to learn Trade & English and that at any time I want men in any Palaver to send one of them to him and he will immediately send any people I desire." This is a man tis worth while to be at some expence to Cultivate & preserve his Friendship as he is more powerfull then Entofferow.⁶⁶

C. C. C. 23 Nov. 1750.

J. Roberts to Captain Hill

The Ahantas are Chagrind at an Alliance Enterd into, which I have been some time bringing to bear, with In tu fferow the King of Warsaw, one of the Most powerfull Men, in Men and Money upon this part of the Coast, it is Conclud. And his Messengers that were down here to perform Ceremonys the Natives have when they Contract Engagements with Europeans, dispatched yesterday, I took the Advantage of a falling out he had with the Dutch General, who had sold some of his people of the Coast, and have Enter'd into an Alliance Offensive & Defensive with him, As I knew him to be an Inveterate Enemy to the Ahantas, who are Intirely Devoted to the Service of the Dutch. Ever since the Ahanta War in Mr. Cope Time, by his Assistance I hope to Increase, Cultivate, Preserve, and Advance Brittish Power, and Authority, Equal, if not Superior to that of any other Nation. I beg Leave S^r that if on the

⁶⁴ T. 7C/1476.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

Alteration of Affairs, I shoud be Superceded in my Comãand here, you will Intrest yr. self that my Successor may have Orders to Adhere, and faithfully observe the Alliance I have made that he may not have it in his power out, for private Intrest, or Lucrative Views to destroy it, As before I coud bring it to perfection, I was obligd to Engage John Currantee, and Cudjoe Caboceers, not without a great deal of fatigue, and some Expençe, to take Fettish, that the English shoud truely and faithfully Observe the Engagements I had made, And it gives me Concern to say the Negroes have been so often deluded and deceiv'd by the Company's Agents, that it is Allmost impossible to persuade them to Repose Confidence in an Englishman.⁶⁷

Roberts to J. A. Hillhouse

Trade is very bad "Owing Chiefly to the Ashantee paths being so long shut up by the Warsaws, (the former a great and populous Country, and the Latter a people that have Joind with those of the Water Side Against the Ashantees) whereby Gold and Teeth are become Curiosities, and the Number of Slaves so few, buyers so Numerous, and prices so Exorbitant, that 11 a 12 Oz. of Merchandize will Scarcely purchase a Good Man Slave."⁶⁸

Roberts to Gen Agents—

28 June 1750

Y^e Women you are to send, are two that was Panyard in Bossus House, and his Sister who he gave (as) a Pawn for his good behaviour.⁶⁹

Toberts to Mr. Husbands

Dixcove 7 July 1750.

y^e blacks Xmas is here in 10 days from this⁷⁰

Roberts to ?

Dixcove Fort July 13, 1750

Pray send some Bottled Porter . . . as the Cabb^{ers} here will not drink anything but Beer.⁷¹

Roberts to ? —

Cape Coast Castle Aug 9, 1750

—The people are all Drunk today makeing Custom for Cujoes Bro^r.⁷²

⁶⁷ Treasury, 70/1476, p. 325.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 260.

Roberts to Messrs. Godfrey & Senior

Dixcove Aug. 25, 1750.

(Instructions on their being left in command of the fort)

Command the Centinals at the Gate from time to time not to suffer any Women to go out for Water, without informing y^e thereof.⁷³

J. Roberts to the
Dutch General

C. C. C. 7th Sept 1750.

Re the method and conditions of settling the palaver between the English and Dutch—the possibility of meeting at Succondee for that purpose—

Hopes the Dutch General will regard his proposal concerning the “Non Appearance of any Negroes &c in or about either the Succondees, during our Assembly or Enquiry, as a band, or Association of Blacks in Arms, dancing and Parading, which you know is their Custom and Delight, can no ways Aid our Enquiry into truth, nor Expedite the Introduction of peace, but may rather serve to breed feud and Animosity perhaps from little personal piques, among each other, or to terrify and intimidate some of the Evidences & parties.”⁷⁴

Cape Coast Castle

Roberts to H. Lascelles

C. C. C. 25 Sept. 1750.

Capt. Yewart of the Hardman Sneau of Liverpool, in March last Anchoring to Windw^d of Cape Palma, carried away the King's son, and a Freeman whereupon a Long boat and Pinnacle of Capt. Albert Wickman (a Dutch Interloper) Endeavouring to make some Trade there, were Seizd & Plunderd of two Slaves, the Captains Son and another Sailor Murther'd & Boatswain Mortally wounded, On the same occasion Captain Low of the Betty Sneau, of Liverpool, had two of his people Seiz'd and Carried up into the Country, allso 7 Slaves, and goods to purchase fourteen more, to Redcem the two men belonging to Low, Captⁿ. Wickman paid 2 Guns, 2 baggs Powder, 2 Basts, 4 Casks of Brandy, 2 Cases of Spirits, and 2 Iron Barrs, of these and other such proceedings I have Certificates.—The Origin of these Misfortunes proceeds from a practice the Bristol and Liverpool Captains have got into, of entrusting Negroe Traders, with quantities of Goods to Merchandize upon whilst their vessels proceed, and Trade from place to place, to Leeward, and by Agreement on turning again up the Coast, are to Receive the produce of

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

such Entrusted Commodities in Slaves, Teeth, or Gold—But it too frequently happens such black Traders are not Return'd in time from the up Countrys or if they are, that they have entrusted some part of the Goods with other friends or partners in Trade, who from Roguish Dispositions, or Accidents unforeseen, never return, or perhaps do, having not been Successfull in makeing the Trade agreed upon, so as to be Able to make Returns to the Captains at the day Appointed, the Consequence of which is—That such Trading men with their Friend (the more the better) are inveighled on board, Stupify'd with Drums, then Seiz'd, put into Irons without distinction, and Carried off the Coast. In Recompence for which the next Vessel that unfortunately happens to send her boat on Shore to Trade, is made a Sacrifice to the Natives with all the Goods and Hands.

The King of Dahomy having been so fearfull of the English leaving his Country, (when the Fort thare was Neglected) that he has ordered all his Subjects, when an English Vessel Anchors there, to make no Trade with a Ship of any other Nation, which was the Case with a Sloop that went down from hence, and this the King does to Encourage the English Traders.⁷⁵

Roberts to Lord Hallifax Cape Coast Castle 28th Sept. 1750.

—The former (Trade) was never ~~so~~ totally declind on the Gold Coast, as at present, and will be irreparably lost to Windw^d Soon, the first so reduced, by a National Contention between the Warsaw King and Apoco of Ashiante, the former having blockd up the trading Paths for near 200 leagues along the Sea Coast, these 10 Years past, whereby, there is scarce a Slave Tooth or Oz of Gold to be bought.⁷⁶

Roberts to Mr. John Hardman C. C. C. 28 Sept. 1750.

He recounts the defection of some of the English Caborceers—who “contrary to their own Country Laws, took up Arms against Fort Dixcove.”⁷⁷

Roberts to Hon. John Vaughan C. C. C. 28 Sept. 1750

Tis impossible to assure you, how bad Trade continues in these parts, here is no Gold or Teeth to be bought, and so very few Slaves, that the Captains of Trading Ships give at the prices of 11 and 12 Ozs. p head for them, by which the Towns all along the Coast are become Surcharged with Goods and Commodities, whereby the

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

Natives that are Wealthy will not bring their Gold into Trade, as Bartering one Comodity for Another among themselves will Answer the same end.⁷⁸

In a list of Stores needed for Cape Coast Castle

28 Sept 1750.

20 Silver Head Canes with the Companys Arms Engraved, for Presents to Kings, Cabocceers, and great Men, in the Inland Country, to Engage them in the Brittish Interest, for Want of Such a Cane as Above, a good deal more trouble has happen'd at Dixcove than otherwise woud, as it is enlisting Negroes in your Service, which they seldom or ever after desert.⁷⁹

Roberts to the Dutch General

C. C. C. 8^{br} 1st 1750

Sometime past I troubled you with a Message by your boy, relating to a Debt, due from Coffebah a Mulatto Woman, in Elmina town, of Oz 1: 7: 6: To our Castle Bomboy, which the said Coffeebah has frequently promis'd to Satisfye, but has not yet been so good as her word. Achaio a Negro Woman (Wench to your late Caboccer Amah) allso detains a pawn for a Man Slave, who run away from the Bearer, whom I send to Inform you of the Palavour.

As the Woman will neither deliver him the pawn, nor make Satisfaction, I doubt not your docing him, and our Bomboy (English Subjects) Justice, which will prevent my permitting them, to take such Redress as the Custom of the Coast allows, and I shall always be glad to render any of your Subjects, on the like Occasions, the same Justice.⁸⁰

J. Roberts to Dutch General

14 Nov. 50.

Ando an English Subject of Commenda, who by My Order Attends you herewith, haveing desird he may be permitted to panyar upon Femere a Dutch Subject of Elmina Town, there are more Natives of that Name, but to prevent Mistake, the person Meant, Sojourns with his family at the house of Amayo, and was a Near Relation of Ama, your late linguist decesd. I Refusd him permission to panyere, till I had first Acquainted y^r Hon^r with his Intention as I am Satisfyd you will Interpose with Yr Powr, and Authority to Oblidge the aforesaid Femere to Render Ando the Complainant Such Satisfaction as the justice of his Cause demands,

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

for which End I beg to Lay before your Hon^{rs} the Origin of the Debt, as near Truth as I can learn. In a Certain Season of Warr, some five or six years past, Femere ow'd Ozt to the Negro Assano (otherwise Crass) a Dutch boy now at Chama, and being pressd for the money, and not Able to pay it Applys to Ando, to pass his word for the Same, which the said Ando Agreed to, and in Consequence became Answerable from the Same Demand. In process of time (War being Ceasd) Assano the Creditor, Renews his Application (first by desire of Ando) to Femere for the Debt, but meeting no Relief comes on A do, Upon the Surety ship, who gives them (Assano) otherwise Crass a Slave pawn for the value of his demand, which the said Assano sold off the Coast, whereupon Ando brings his palaver Against Femere, in hopes Yr. Hon will give him Redress, and humbly Submits the Legality of it to Yr. Determination.

(Agrees to do the same for the Dutch Genl. should the occasion arise.)⁸¹

T. R. and W. H. C. C. C.

(no date) 1750(?)

To Capt. Lepenay—Caser Sneau

. . . However to Convince you of Our Readiness To Serve the Subjects of the French Nation and in our Turn Do a generous act Your People and boat shall be Returned you In the Following Conditions.

1st Your sending Goods to your Officer here to make the Negroes satisfaction For preserving the Boat and bringing her to A place of Safety. if thay render back the trapnail which we will oblige them to Do, or thay shall receive no Gratuity Was it an English Subjects Boat he should pay for it as the negroes have a Right To Salvage and for a future. Encouragement to them, in Case Such Accident Should happen to Any other Ship.⁸²

Translation of Captain Wickman's Certificate of his son's Death being killed at river Sistres on Acco^t. of Captⁿ Yewart of the Hardman.

Captain Yewart of the Hardman of Liverpool the 7th of April 1750 carried 2 freemen one of them the King's Son away with him, on which Occasion Captⁿ. Albert Wickman's Long Boat & Pinnace was Stop'd and Robb'd of what was in her, with two Slaves his Son & another man Killed, and his Boatswain mortally Wounded. Like-

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁸² T. 70/68.

wise Captⁿ Lowe of the Betty Snow of Liverpool on that Occasion had 2 of his People Stopped and Carried up in the Country likewise 7 Slaves and Goods for 14 more. Note, that Captⁿ. Albert Wickman paid for Captain Lowe's Mate & another hand, 2 Guns, 2 bags Powder, 2 Bafts, 4 bags Bfandy, 2 Cases Spirits, 2 Iron Bars.⁸³

Dr. Stewart

Dixcove Fort April 20th 1750.

As I love to Acquaint my friends with the little Occurrences that happens, take the following Accot. as it happen'd on the 17th Instant, At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 our Fort and Town were Attacked by the Natives Join'd by the Dutch Boutry Subjects, and others to about the N^r. of 2000 Men or Upward, Our People were full hardy Enough to goe out and Engage them by which means we had one Black man kill'd and 6 Slightly Wounded, but great was the havock we made of the Enemy, by my best Judgments there cou'd not be less then 100 kill'd and wounded, they Burnt the Town and fought Desperate 'till Night, then Retired, but have not since Apeard more then 2 or 3 Skulkers, they finding Work enough to Bury their Dead and Dress their Wounded. We are informed they intend to try their Skill on Monday with Us, and we are nobely prepar'd, to Entertain them. The Dutch Chief of Boutry has Panyard one of our Shand Canoes, coming from Cape Coast with some Stores which he keeps with the Canoemen, and we are certain he is the Promoter, and was the Projector of this Plot against the English which tended to no less than the Destruction of this Fort and the English Interest at this place. . . . I now come to desire you to send for all my Pepnins and Tando, and buy all their Corn take an Accot. how many thousand Ears they can Spare you, and if you can't get it for $2\frac{1}{2}$ Ackees P 1000 Ears, give them 3 Ackees, half Wollens, the other half India goods, also secure all the Palm Oil you Possibly can get, and pay them their full Price for the Same. Awishebak will tell you the Price.⁸⁴

In John Smalman Gardener's Deposition re the palaver between the Dutch and English—March 2, 1750

Some of the English natives were reported to have "attacked the King Enterry, as his Majesty with some of his Attendance, or Court, was taking his Progress thro' part of his Domains to rasaw (i.e) Cut down or Grub up the Bushes & Set his Corn."⁸⁵

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ T. 70/68.

⁸⁵ T. 70/1516.

In Cudjoe's Deposition re the Dutch-English palaver

March 2, 1750

"the Deponent said the Moon was not as big in its first quarter as it is afterwards which signified that the palaver could not be made up in one day."

In Braddoe's Deposition the statement becomes "The Moon does not in its first quarter appear in its full greatness."⁸⁶

James Fort in the River Gambia

24th October 1750.

John Hopkins to the Committee of Merchants Trading to Africa.

Capt. Major, belonging to Guernsey, carried out of this River unknow to us, Three free Natives, and if I am not Mistaken there is an Act of Parliament to the Contrary, and if they are not sent back we don't know how soon they may take satisfaction of us.

If ever a private Trader goes up the River he will Certainly be cutt Off, if the free Men are not returned.⁸⁷

In An Acco^t. of Mr. Gardener's Behaviour.

It has been the Custom of the Coast, ever since the Forts were built, when the white Men wanted Sheep, Goats or Fowls to send Soldiers or Company's Slaves into the Towns under the Forts, and take them. The Proprietors followed peaceably into the Castles and were paid. This Method (called panyaring in the Coast Language) was in Practice here during Roberts's Administration, and so much Use was made of it that when I came on shore there was scarcely a Sheep or a Fowls to be seen in the Town. I immediately put an End to it upon the King of the Town's undertaking to supply us. On this every Body brought their Stock from the Country where they had them keep'd to secure them, and the Town was full of Stock. Upon the Arrival of the Men of War the King complained that he could not furnish us so fast as we consumed and desired the Custom of panyaring might be revived during the Men of War's stay. Cudjo Cabboccer to whom most of the Town belongs himself ordered the Cooks to go out and take what they wanted. On this they took what Fowls they had Occasion for, the King keep'd the Account & they were regularly paid.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

ABSTRACT OF M. ROULLES' LETTER TO MR. RUYSIEULX—
JULY 24, 1751—GOLD COAST

The Dispute between the French and English is reduced to two Questions—

(1) If the English have a right to exclude the French from trading at Annamaboe.

(2) What are to be considered as the Limits of that Privilege which a Settlement on the Gold Coast can confer.

He has awaited the arrival of Mr. Glandeves, in order to receive farther Lights upon this Head.—

Mr. Glandeves relates that, upon his anchoring at that Place, He was complimented by the Son of the Principal Cabaicher, sent to Him for that Purpose by His Father: That the Sr De Carné, who was sent with a Return of the Compliment, had a long Conference with the said Cabaicher, which turned chiefly upon the Pretensions of the English to the Sovereignty at Anamaboe; That the Cabaicher owned his Desire of cultivating the Friendship of the English, but insisted on his own Independancy, & on the Freedom of the Fantins, who acknowledged neither the English, nor any others, for their Sovereigns, & who had always traded, & w^d continue to do so, with all Nations that came, & particularly with The French: That His Father had permitted the English to build a Fort, which had been razed by the Negroes, from an Apprehension They had, that it was designed as a Check upon Them and their Trade, & that it had not been rebuilt, tho' The English had continued the Payment of their Tribute: That however the Fort, if it really existed, could give no Right of Dominion or exclusive Trade, & that The French might erect likewise a Fort in the same Manner, if they please: . . . & concluded by saying, that He was resolved to preserve the Liberty He had of admitting every Nation to trade there; That this was the Language not only of the Cabaicher, but of all the Fantins . . . that the Tribute paid by them (the English) to the Chief of the Fantins, is a customary Duty paid by all Europeans to the Negroes for Leave of trading.⁸⁹

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM THOMAS MELVIL, CHIEF AGENT
ETC. AT CAPE COAST CASTLE TO THE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING
TO AFRICA—JULY 11, 1751

The Fanteens declared they had a Grudge at Capt. D(erbyshire) for driving away the French and lowering the Price of Slaves; they

⁸⁹ C. O. 267/5.

say, if We will buy all their Slaves, they do not want to see a Frenchman, but they cannot trade, if We do not take half the Number they bring down, and will not suffer them to sell the Remainder to those who will buy them. This they say makes them indifferent about the Slave Trade as they run such Risks of losing by it. Derbyshire likewise forced them to lower the Price of Slaves from 10 to 8 Ounces, which they cannot easily forgive."

The Fanteens are an avaricious unruly People, live in a manner without Government, and I am afraid if We have a Fort among them, We must either be their Slaves or be eternally at War with them, but this I shall be a better Judge of when I have been longer in the Country." ⁹⁰

CAPTAIN DERBYSHIRE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT
CAPE COAST CASTLE—JUNE 24, 1751

. . . They (the Fanteens) "begun to tell me the Laws of their Country and among the Number was one, that if you have any Goods stolen, whose hands you find them in becomes your Slave." ⁹¹

COUNCIL HELD AT CAPE COAST CASTLE—SUNDAY, JUNE
23, 1751

Cudjoe Cabboreer relates as follows:

"Above 3 Years ago Capt. Derbyshire's Long Boat going down from Cape Coast to Annamaboe, robbed the Black's Nets of their Fish (which by their Laws is Death) ⁹²

IN A LONG LIST OF LETTERS ABOUT THE QUARREL BETWEEN
THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH AT DIXCOVE

Melvil's to the Committee—Nov. 5, 1751.

"The Council here have appointed Frederick Aday who was in England a Writer (winter) at the Request of his Father Cudjo Cabboccer, Which We hope you will approve of. He intends this Boy for his Successor, and therefore gives him to Us to qualify for it. We owe very much to Cudjo who is not greedy, considering him as a Man born here; He is of more Service to me by his Advice than I can well express." ⁹³

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ C. O. 267/5.

James Fort Gambia 7th June 1751.

James Skinner & Council }
 To the Committee }

. . . The old King of Barraah died before we arrived here, & a new King is chose who paid us a Visit 10 days ago. We have paid him his annual Custom & made the Presents you sent him, which he received very graciously, but it has cost the Committee very dear etc. having such a Train along with him. He has promised to turn the French Men, out of his Dominions, as soon as he can make up Affairs with His People who are all Friends to the French, & acquainted us at the same Time, that if we chose to turn them out ourselves he promises none of his People should in any Shape give them any Assistance. . . . We have not made the Emperor of Phoney his Presents as usual, he being at War with the Floups which hinders him from coming to the Fort, & is dangerous for us to pay him a Visit.

Same to same

Gambia 30 July 1751

We have had lately a Visit from the Emperor of Phoney when I deliver'd him your Present which he thankfully received, & promises to render the Company what Services he can, & will never allow the French to come in his Country; he stay'd with us on the Fort 3 Days which was very expensive maintain'g his numerous Retinue with Rum at Least 20 Gallons P Day, besides a few Presents for his Wives who always travel with him.

same to same.

Gambia 14 March 1752

. . . As for the Emperor of Fonio he is a good Natured old Wife—Subjects have no regard for what he does or says.

Thomas Melvil to the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa

Cape Coast Castle July 11, 1751

The Fantees are an avaricious unruly people, live in a manner without Government, and I am afraid if we have a Fort among them we must either be their Slaves, or be eternally at War with them, but this I shall be a better judge of when I have been longer in the Country, every Messenger of John Currantees presses me to begin & build, John offers People to carry Stones & Lime. The true motive of John's Anxiety is this he has by rapen and every Indirect Method raised himself to his present Greatness. he is very old and knows very well that after his Death those who dare not Mutter against him now, will make his Family refund the money he has

unjustly taken, and therefore he wants to make a merit with us in Building the Fort which he will expect we are to employ in the Protection of his Family which may be destitute as the Post of Capt. of Annamaboe is elective and in all Probability without our Assistance will go into another Family.⁹⁴

same to same

Cape Coast Castle July 23, 1751

. . . The Hasiantees who are the great Traders on this Coast have not been at the Water Side these 7 Years, upon Account of a Quarrel with Intuffero King of Warsaw, who left his country with all his People, and put himself under the Protection of the Fanteens. Many attempts have been made by the English and Dutch to make up this Palaver (or Quarrel) but to no Purpose. In course it now falls to my Lot by the assistance of Cudjoe Cabboccer here, who is a faithful Servant, & to whom it is owing that Cape Coast is still ours. I made a beginning. I got him to Propose the thing at a Meeting of the Fantee nation and secretly to Dispatch a Messenger to the Priests of Bura Burum Weiga, who is the God of that Country; utters Oracles and Govern's that otherways licentious People with a more than dispotick Sway. In ten days I am to have the response of the Oracle which if favourable they are to have 20 Goods slave price, by some means or other the Fanteens at Annamaboe have got Notice of what Cudjo and I have been about (tho' they do not yet know all) and they are continually sending Messengers to me that they will have the Paths open'd, and have sent to the Dutch General to declare the same, intending to make a Merit of what, I believe, by the God's assistance we should have done without them.⁹⁵

same to same

Cape Coast Castle Jan 8th 1752.

[Re the settlement of disputes of the natives against the Company]

Acainyah a Young man just come to his Estate which consists of about 3000 People (a full half of the Hantah Country) came down first. He had been at War with us. In a few days he was followed by Accah our Linguist at Dixcove & Bogo Asseen Ground Landlord of the Fort there. These two were on our side and have about 200 People.

Thus, as far as it relates to the Negroes ended our Hantah Dispute which has been a Plague to me ever since my Arrival, and which I may venture to assert never would have been ended by my Predecessor, his Scheme was to destroy them by means of Intuffero

⁹⁴ T. 70/29, p. 3.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

with whom he had, or thought he had made a treaty, but my coming out put an end to that talk for it never could have gone further, as that wary old Negroe insisted upon our Men of war firing on the Dutch Forts, as a proof we were in earnest, before he marched out of his own Country.

In one of my former Letters I told you that what lead Roberts astray was his Notion of the Negroes Subjection to us. He never considered that we pay them ground rent for our Forts, that they have their own Laws, of their own making, that we are under no Obligation, further than General promises and our own Interest, to protect them, that protection from Government must ever be employed where Subjection is due, that were (sic) the one is uncertain the other can have no Existence. The Negroes will suffer us to amuse our selves with what words please us best, but when we come to explain these words by Actions, and attempt to carry matters with a high hand, I find they ever have opposed us, and I may venture to assure you they ever will.⁹⁶

same to same. Cape Coast Castle March 14, 1752.

. . . While our Deputies were on Shore at Annamaboe I was trying the Fanteens by another Quarter, I sent a secret Message to their Priests offering 20 to them to make their God declare in our favour. But to my great Mortification had this answer, John Currantee has offered 60 to speak for the French.⁹⁷

same to same.

The affairs of this Country are at present in such a Situation That I confess I cannot see what will be the result. We are told by some that this Year that (sic) the Ashantees & Intuffero are either to fight or make peace. but have had that story every Year. However the Fanteens are quite tired out & some of the most considerable Cabb^{rs}. in that country have dispatched secret messengers to the King of Ashantee to let him know that if he comes to fight they will remain neuter, if so, they will have the Satisfaction to be last devoured.⁹⁸

re Mr. Thomas Thompson an itinerant Missionary from the Society for propagating the Gospel.—He finds the Negroes Credenda not quite so bad as he expected, their Fetich having something in it analogous to Witchcraft.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19 and 20.

⁹⁷ T. 70/29, p. 28.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.

same to same.

When I call him John's slave I do not deny but he is his Son, but he is so by one of his own Slaves, which makes him Slave to John's Heir.¹⁰⁰

Cape Coast Castle 21st Feby 1753.

Thomas Melvil to Geo. Cockburne

Sometime ago a Boat belonging to the Anglesea Snow of Liverpool Mr. James Carruthers Mast^r. with 2 White Men & 2 Negros was overset off Mouree Fort & the people carried on Shore by the Fishermen of that place. Mr. Carruthers has got back his White Men, but the 2 Negros (who are the sons of 2 Cabboccers to Windward whom he has engag'd to carry to England) are still detain'd, tho' I've used my utmost endeavors to get 'em restored; at first the Mouree people demanded 8 ozs. of Goods for each, as they say everything sav'd from Sea is the Gift of God, now they ask 12 Ozs. & an Anker of Brandy for the two.¹⁰¹

Cape Coast Castle 11th March 1753

Thomas Melvil to the Committee.

re the treaty made with the Fantees.

The proportion of those who have sworn to observe the Law is to Annamaboe as 20 to 1 accord^g to the best acco^{ts}. I could Procure & in the N^o. is their Legislature. The Braffoe & Curranteers by & with the advice of their God, whose Oracles they receive from the priests, are the Fantee Legislature. The Braffoe & Curranteers never drank fettish (their manner of Swearing) before this to observe any treaty; at first they refused it to observe the law, but by the steadiness of Abra & the priests they were obliged to take it.¹⁰²

same to same

Cape Coast Castle 14th March 1753.

. . . The Accomfees & the Bura Bura Fantees who recognized our rights on the 6th ulto. were originally the same people, but now they've 2 Braffoes (or Stadt holders) & 2 Sets of Curranteers (or Senators) they are neither under the same circumstances in point of Union as the Switzers & Grisons, nor as the united provinces of Holland. I call their Connexion a federal Union for want of a better expression, tis an Union founded on Manners, Customs, & religion, for they are under the same Subjection to the Father (or God) of Fantee as the Western Fantees are.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁰¹ T. 70/30, p. 1.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

The priests of Bura Bura Wergan (i. e. the Father of Fantee) have sent here to make a Fetiche in the following manner. To write on a p^a. of paper in the English Language these Words, "the practices & designs of the French & Jn Currantee are bad." then the Messenger was order'd to carry the paper to the Water side, there to tear it & throw it into the Water. I took this for a Joke, but Cudjo (who is a firm believer in these matters, tho' he does not chuse to have it thought so) assured me it was not so meant, & therefore takes care to have it performed according to their directions.¹⁰⁴

same to same

(no date)

The people who came up at Christmas were the Goldtakers; a Set of Men generally very poor, & who get their Livelihood by being interpreters between the Ships & the traders, & by cheating both.

They (the Negroes) only regard one another according to their power of doing mischief. This principle they carry into their Religion. God, say they, is too good to do us any harm, & therefore they look on all worship of him as needless, but pay great court to the Devil who gets abundance of Dashees.¹⁰⁵

same to same

30th Nov. 1754.

The King of Jo is dead, & they are wrangling & fighting who shall have the stool. Two that have been seated in it within these two Months are both killed.¹⁰⁶

James Skinner to same

James Fort 9th May 1754.

The King of Barrah died 5 days ago & a new one appointed, but does not receive the Cape 'till the Mourning for the last King is perform'd w^{ch} will be about 6 weeks hence.¹⁰⁷

ROBERTS TO PETER TAYLOR

Cape Coast Castle 5 April 1751.

Captain Jasper of The Prince refuses to act as arbitrator in the conflict between the English and Dutch for what reason he is at a loss to understand unless because to him "the Country was rather Disagreeable because the men Natives too frequently Expose their

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71. Stool here means throne.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Posteriors &c and the Women their nakedness to the Navel thro Custom and Scantiness Of their Dress."

...
 "The Negroes are far from being fools" ¹⁰⁸

ROBERTS TO MR. RUSH

"This affair has given Cudjo the boy Fredericks father, who is a Sensible Worthy Black man great Dissatisfaction who tho a Negro I will venture to say has more Hon^r and Honesty than his Majest. Warlike Capt^a and is a much better Englishman." ¹⁰⁹

ROBERTS TO WM. PRICE

April 5 1751.

The colours of the Long Ells by the Nelly were but ordinary—if you Exspect to gain reputation in this Trade, you must be particularly Nice, as the Negroes are Connoisseurs in their Choice of Colours. ¹¹⁰

ROBERTS TO LORD?

Cape Coast Castle.

I must not omitt observing to your Lordship with respect to John Courantee That he hath for a long Course of years behaved so Arbitrary among the Fanteen's, so inhumanly to his own People and been guilty of such injustices that finding age grow Powerfully upon him and every body not only his Enemy but resolved one day or other to take advantage of his Family, is determined at all Events to Establish a Fort at Annamaboa for the Defence of them and himself and in this affair will give Particular Preference to the English, which if they reject or don't shortly Embrace, he is determined at all events (for the reasons afforesaid) to give the French or Portugueze the opportunity, whereby the Trade will be rendered the Property and right of such Forreigners as any o' the English Merchants. ¹¹¹

ROBERTS TO EDW^d. FITZGERALD

C. C. C. 5 April 1751.

He is complaining of the ill treatment received from two English Captains who "saluted out of pure ill Nature, with 11 Guns, in these parts Compliments due and paid to black Cabbocheers etc." ¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ T. 70/1477.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

In Thos. Darbyshire's letter—

Cape Coast Road 24 June 1751

—they began to tell me the laws of their country and among the number was one, that if you have any goods stolen, whose hands you find them in becomes your slave, if he was John Currantee.¹¹³

Cape Coast Castle

The Council held on Sunday 29th Dec^r. 1751

Present

Thomas Melvil Esq ^r .	President, Chief Agt. &c.
Wm. Husband	Chief Agent
Thos. Boteler	Do & Accountant
Ebenez ^r . Young	Counsellor

Acainyah the Heir of Bossue late Cabboceer of Dixcove having express'd to Mr. Senior his earnest Desire to come here, not only to be installed Cabboceer by the Counsel, but likewise to put an End to all the Disputes wch subsisted between his Cabboceers & People. & the other Inhabitants of Dixcove, which, he said they could not settle themselves, the same was agreed to, as the most effectual Means of restoring the Tranquility of the Place, & thereby put an End to the great Expence the Company has been subject to for near Two Years in maintaining about 200 Negroes in that Fort.

Accordingly Acainyah, Accah, Billy Contah, Quashee Ancorah, Ancottee, Bogoe Assien, Ando of Atchmmah, Bogoe, Fattoe & several others being come here were called before the Council & were desired to exhibite their Complaints against each other, that they might be examined into, & Justice done, so that for the Future, the Practices of those who wanted to sow Dissention among them, or to alienate their Affections from us might prove Abortive.

1. In Consequence of this Acainyah charged Mr. Chalmer, who formerly was a Chief Agent here, wth; making his Predecessor Bossue pay Oz. 8 of Gold & three fat sheep to make up the Quarrel he, Acainyah, had with one Yeow Fin, & obliged him to lye in Irons in the Fort till the same was paid. This Severity Acainyah said, was what alienated the Affections of Bossue from the English. He desired that Yeow Fin might be removed from Dixcove, & declared that he could not possibly rebuild his Town while that Man was suffered to remain there.

2. Acainyah likewise charged Tattoo Company's Gold-Taker at Dixcove with upbraiding Bossue that he could not speak English

¹¹³ T. 70/1517.

tho' he had been a Pawn at Cape Coast, which, it seems so Affronted the Old Man that upon it Animosities rose to such a Height that Acainyah declared, Tattoo & he could not live in one Place.

3. Ancottee charged Bogoe with sending him a Message from Succondee that he would cut out his Ears when he return'd to Dixcove.

4. Billy Contah complain'd that Old Dick upon a Quarrel with one of his own Wives, had, in the heat of his Passion thrown a Fetich upon him where by he obliged him to kill that Wife whenever Dick her Husband died. That he Contah not liking the Task imposed on him had engaged Bogoe Assien, Dick's Heir, by Fetich to execute the Woman upon Dick's Death. That shortly after this Dick died, & Bogoe Assien had neither kill'd the Woman, nor freed Contah from the Obligation of the Fetich Old Dick threw upon him, & that Consequently his Life was in Danger.

After these Complaints were exhibited the Hantahs were desired to withdraw; which they Did.

As to the first Resolved that Yeow Fin be sent hither, as he is not a Hantah man.

On the second complaint—Resolved that Tattoo be Gold-Taker at Succondee, as he remained faithfull to the English during the late Troubles.

On the Third Examined Bogoe who acquainted the Council that he was Married to Ancottee's Daughter That several Years ago, when Mr. Chalmer was at Dixcove, a Man came runing to acquaint him that he saw another Man going into a Room with his Wife, on wch Bogoe made such Dispatch home that he catched them in the very Act. Enraged at this he fell to beating his Wife, & her Brother coming to her Assistance a Battle ensued between him & Bogoe who was wounded in the shoulder by a Knife. On this he was going to the Fort to Complain to Mr. Chalmer but was stopped by Aceah the Linguist, who told him that Chalmer was a passionate inexorable Man, & that if he took the Management of his Quarrel he would only breed more Mischief. So Ancottee paid somewhat to Bogoe to quiet him, & likewise 4 Ac. Gold to Mr. Chalmer's head Servant. But since the late Quarrels at Dixcove Ancottee had told Lies of him to the Dutch Chief of Boutry Bacot, who had confined his Brother in his fort, and made him pay £7, before he released him: it was on this account that he sent him word, that he would be revenged on him.

As this Bogoe went to Succondee at the meeting there to give evidence for us, Tho Bacot had confined his Brother.

Resolved, that Ancottee and Bogoe be desired mutually to forgive each other all injuries; and take Fetich, or oath, to be good friends for the future, which they agreed to.

Bogoe Assien agreed to turn Billy Contah's Fetich, as soon as a Squirrel could be got, as that was absolutely necessary in the operation.¹¹⁴

Thomas Bottler to Thomas Melvil

Cape Coast Castle July 23, 1751

But with regard to the Trade give me leave further to Observe to you that the Slave Trade being the Principal Trade of this Coast, where that goes, there goes the Gold and Ivory also, for Few traders come here with Gold or Ivory only no man will come down 200 Miles to lay out Oz 2 of Gold nor will any Negroe bring down a Tooth upon his head, he gets Slaves, they are his Chief Dependance, the Slaves bring the Teeth upon their heads and if he wants any particular Article of Goods he brings Gold with him to buy it. but your principal Gold Trade is from the Commissions these Traders bring down from their Friends. When the up country people hear of any trader or number of Traders coming down to the Waterside they each of them for what he wants give these Traders their Gold to Lay out for them, these put all together make up a good Sum. the Trader when he comes to the Waterside endeavours to get as many articles of his Commissions as he possibly can on the Sale of his Slaves, by which means so much of the Gold becomes his property this then he lays out for such articles as will do best for himself and he possibly could not get on his Slaves.¹¹⁵

REPORT UPON THE MEMORIAL TO BUILD A FORT AT ANNAMABO IN 1752

The memorial sets forth that John Corrantee one of the Caboreers of the Kingdom of Fanti upon the Gold Coast, had refused permission to the French to build a Fort at Annamaboe, and had at the same time given Assurance of his readiness to assist His Majesty's Subjects in rebuilding the old Fort, or in erecting a new one at that place—cost probably not to exceed £6000.

The Board called in a Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa who represent

“That as John Corrantee is now very old they apprehend his

¹¹⁴ T. 70/1517.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

View in proposing the building of a Fort, is to secure his Riches and Possessions to his Family, and that if his offer be not accepted he will resent the Refusal and probably apply to the French or some other power.

"The said Committee further acquainted us, that they considered Annamaboe as the Key to the whole Trade of the Gold Coast; That the Fanti Trade which furnishes the best sort of Negroes is removed from Cape Coast Castle to Annamaboe, and that if the French should take Possession of Annamaboe, We shall not be able to carry on any Trade at Cape Coast Castle." . . .

The old fort, they think, stood too far from the sea—the new one there should be built in another place.

That a Ground Rent had been constantly paid by the old Company for the former Fort, but they could not be certain whether this gives them a Right of Building a Fort upon the Spot that might be now proposed; though they believe it does, as they apprehend that the Ground Rent was paid not only for the particular Spot upon which the old Fort stood, but for some Land about it.

This appearing to us to be a Fort very necessary for your Lordship's Information to be ascertained, We thought it our Duty to get the best Account of it that we were able, and having been attended by Mr. David Crichton, formerly Chief Agent for the old Company at Cape Coast Castle, and a Person well acquainted with the Situation and Circumstance of the Place, he represented to Us, that it appears from an Entry in the Journals of the old Company in the year 1743, a Copy of which he produced to Us, that they paid 12 Akis or about £3 Sterling P Month to the Braffoo and Corantees of Fanteen for Ground Rent and Water; Customs not only at Annamaboe, but also at the two adjacent Towns of Annishan and Aggah; That this had been paid ever since the English had any Fort there, and that it gave them a Right of Building a Fort in any part of the Town of Annamaboe that should be most proper:

.

The Board upon consideration recommend the building of the fort because it will tend to promote trade—"by serving the Friendship and Assistance of John Corrantee and his Family, upon which this Trade so greatly depends.

XX

Signed DUNK HALIFAX
J. GRENVILLE
CHAS. TOWNSHEND
J. PITT.¹¹⁶

RICH^d. JENKINS TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT CAPE
COAST COUNCIL

Aug. 22, 1752.

The other Two (slaves) we leave with you are Picanniny-Bassaw Men, a place a little to Windward of Grand Bassaw, where I was once Cut off by the Natives & Lost both Ship & Cargoe, & Murder'd several of my People, one of which they kill'd ashore & Eat him before my face, the next Morning I was to be treated in the same Manner had not Providence means for my Escape.¹¹⁷

MELVIL TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS
TRADING TO AFRICA

Feb. 20, 1752

Every black man except the Gold takers of Annamaboe is happy, but these People say that if we trade we destroy their Business, and thô we buy their slaves, they are very angry when we sell them again.¹¹⁸

THOMAS MELVIL TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMPANY OF
MERCHANTS TRADING TO AFRICA

Dec. 26, 1753.

The Fantees, Warsaws, Akims & some lesser Nations have their Deputies now here to procure Messengers from one to go with them to Ashantee whither they are going to swear to the Peace & open the Paths.¹¹⁹

THOMAS MELVIL TO THE COMMITTEE

Feb. 24, 1753.

The Annamagoe People are different every Day; now they will give us Ground enough for our Fort, tomorrow they will not, & must have more Dashees to stand to the Agreement of the Day before. John (Currantee) they now do not obey. However we rub on by sometimes bribing; sometimes threatening to leave them; declare War and drive away Ships of all Nations which Mr. Apperley finds the most effectual method of bringing them to Reason, and if they thought we had the Power they durst not use us as they do, but some good People have now informed them that only the King can declare War. Apperley tells them the Men of War can do it as well as the King so they fear to offend too much.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ T. 70/1518.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ T. 70/1520.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

MELVIL TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE COMPANY OF
MERCHANTS TRADING TO AFRICA

May 30, 1753.

What I have long dreaded is now likely to come to pass. Mr. Apperley is so ill that I am afraid we shall lose him, and this the rather as he apprehends he is poisoned, and therefore has his Imagination as well as his Distemper to struggle with. I say his Imagination because I do not believe him poisoned, that not being ever attempted, as far as I have heard, on this part of the Coast. I once indeed heard of a white Man's accusing another of this Crime, but that was only to take off every Body's Attention from as detestable an Attempt of his own, so the poisoning became a Joke with even himself.¹²¹

Annamaboe

Chr. Why tell to the Committee

June 23, 1753

We are hard set to get Provision to support us without paying an exorbitant price, for Johns Boys who Command all below Stairs, stop the Bush people from bringing us Fowls &c^a, & buy them at their owne price & make us pay double for them, or Starve. And there can be nothing got here by Trade, while we Live in Johns house, the People being afraid of bringing any Slaves for Fear of their being Paniarded by John &c^a, and if a Chance Slave comes, and the Engineer or me should buy him, John demands 4 Aceys P head to the House, altho' we pay him Eight Aceys P Month house rent.¹²²

MELVIL TO THE COMMITTEE—CAPE COAST CASTLE, JULY 1,
1753

The Ashantee paths are neither altogether shut, nor are they quite open.¹²³

JOHN APPERLEY TO THE COMMITTEE

Annamaboe Sept. 8, 1753.

I beg leave to acquaint you that I attempted to Lay the foundation of the Fort twice, but was as often Interrupted by the Inhabitants of this Town by filling up the foundation which I dugg the third time and the 18th of August last laid the foundation of the S^o East Bastion by the Consent of the Capisheers & Pinnins of the

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

Town (being the Chief Majestrats) and have heather to gone on with as much Success as may be Expected from so few people (haveing but 8 Bricklayers & 14 Labourers.¹²⁴

MELVIL TO THE COMMITTEE—HIS DEFENCE (UNDATED)

The People who came up at Christmass (Anima excepted who has about twenty or thirty slaves) were the Goldtakers; a Set of Men generally very poor, and who get their Livelihood by being Interpreters between the Ships and the Traders, and by cheating both.

.....

A small Acquaintance with this Coast will soon shew any Man of the least Discernment that the Method of managing the Negroes is not by giving Way to their unreasonable Demands, that, instead of conciliating their Affections, would render us the Objects of their Contempt. They only regard one another according to their Power of doing Mischief. This Principle they carry into their Religion. God, say they, is too good to do us any Harm, and therefore they look on all Worship of his as needless, but pay great Court to the Devil, who gets Abundance of Dashees.¹²⁵

IN SEVERAL CHARGES EXHIBITED AGAINST MR. MELVILLE IN APRIL & MAY 1753 BEFORE THE COMMITTEE

A separate Trader may give Fettish—but can not enforce it.¹²⁶

Fort Lewis Senegal May 28, 1766

Chas. O Hara to Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

He hopes to develope a small Settlement so as to be sure of provisions in case of native wars and where The Natives would likewise when oppressed by their Chiefs, or their Enemies, retire under the Protection of Our Guns, which by securing their property, would attach them to our Interest, & be the means of making them Industrious, of which we have many Examples on this Island, where they are daily growing Rich, provident, & more Civilized: left to themselves their wants are very few, & it can only be an increase of their demands, that can make this Trade flourish."

.....

He asks to be allowed to make a settlement at the Mines at Gatam, "which are imagined to be the Richest in the World, &

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* In this respect they were very much like the American Indians.

¹²⁶ T. 70/1521.

produce the finest Gold: it is certain all the Barbary States are supplied with Gold from those Mines, in exchange for Merchandize they carry there."

"There is no part of Africa, where there is as great a Consumption of Manufactures, as in the Kingdom of Gatam, and the Countries to the Eastward of it which is very evident from the number of Caravans, that go annually to these Kingdoms, and carry there great quantities of Merchandize. It is certainly much (to) our Interest, to communicate with these Kingdoms, as in all probability we could carry them Merchandize, at a much Cheaper Rate, than the Caravans, who carry them every thing by Land, & are often eight months in performing this Journey, including their return Home."

"It is certain that for these last Fifty Years, there has been annually shipped from Africa, about 70000 of its prime Inhabitants."

"The Consumption hithertoo of Manufacturers in this River, amounts One Year with another, to Forty thousand pounds Sterling, & much about the same Sum is expended in the River Gambia."

...
 "The Chief Returns from this place is a Commodity Gum Senega, of which only one part in five, is made use of in Great Britain, & the rest is purchased for foreign Markets, from the British Merchants."

"As there never has been till now any form of Justice Established here, it is certain that great Irregularities have happened in this River."

"The Traders are even accused of having Hired Moors to fire upon each other.

"The only method of preventing these Irregularities, which must in time ruin the Trade in this River, is by making the Natives dependent on Government, of which they are become intirely independent, by the vast quantities of Goods the Merchants give them.

"I have received certain information that the French (tho contrary to Treaty) have made an agreement with the King of Damel, to make a Settlement at a place called Bain, upon the Continent over against Goree, for which they are to pay an Annual Tribute. . . . re the French settlements at Tudal, Jual and $\frac{1}{2}$ Albreda, they (the French) Buy at each of these places, great quantities of Corn, Rice, Cattle & Slaves.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ C. O. 267/1.

COPY OF SEVERAL QUERIES PROPOSED BY COMMODORE
GRAVES OF HIS MAJESTIES' SHIP EDGAR, TO MR.

JO^s DEBAT, ON JAMES FORT, RELATIVE TO

THE FRENCH AFFAIRS IN THE RIVER

GAMBIA, WITH MR. DEBAT'S

ANSWERS THERETO

"The Ground is not purchas'd of the Natives; but they (the French) live there by their permission; . . . they carry on a trade for every Commodity they can procure."

They are in the power of the Natives, nevertheless are protected, and carry on their Commerce with Ease; they pay Annual Customs to the King, who by promise is to secure their right & c^a in his Country.¹²⁸

CHAS. O'HARA TO COMMISSIONERS FOR TRADE AND PLANTATIONS

July 25, 1766.

"The Countries of Gatam, Bambouck & Tambuctu abound in Mines from whence all the States of Barbary and Egypt are supplied with Gold, in Exchange for their Commodities.

Undoubtedly we can supply these Countries by means of Water Carriage much Cheaper than the Moorish Caravans who are many of them eight Months performing the Voyage, & are obliged exclusive of the number of Slaves & Servants, necessary for carrying on this Trade, to Hire great numbers of People, to guard the Caravans, which must necessarily make them sell their Commodities very dear."

"This Province (Gatam) in General, the Country of Poole particularly, the Dominions of King Saltique, which Confines with Gatam to the Westward, extending from the River Senegal towards the River Gambia, abounds in prodigious Quantities of Rice, Wax, Cotton, Indigo & Tobacco, the latter is the same sort, as the Growth of Brazil, & undoubtedly if Cultivated would very much improve.

"The Cotton that has been carried from this place to Europe, has been repeatedly proved to be the finest in the World."

The Blacks are often enterprizing."

I could easily Hire if necessary, as many Blacks as I pleased, that would be very glad to go up with me to Gatam to assist as Labourers for my Undertaking. Fellows that may be

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

depended on, who have been frequently at Gatam, & are inured to that Climate.¹²⁹

QU.—JOHN BARNES, GOV. & THE COUNCIL AT FORT LEWIS
IN THE RIVER SENEGAL TO COMMITTEE OF
MERCHANTS TRADING TO AFRICA

August 21, 1765.

In "some disputes happening at Guarranguel about 18 Leagues above Podore between the Crew of one of Mr. Bacons' Vessels & y^e Moore there, they had attacked said Vessel killed the Negroe Master etc. . . . A "Misunderstanding happening upon exchange of Hostages some of the Moors fired upon our People & killed one of the Negroe Captains."¹³⁰

Winnebah 21 Dec. 1773.

Thomas Westgate to "Dear Dick" (Richard Brew at Annamaboe)

Corn is not to be had here now at any rate—the Accroans have sent immense quantities for these 2 Mo^s. past to Accra where they were starving for Corn, and Sold it at the high price of 10^{mo} P Chest very small—the Danes Gov^r has had 2 Boats laying off the Devil's Hill for these 3 Weeks purchasing all they could at 8^{mo} in fine Goods for a very small Chest.¹³¹

Annamaboe Fort 13th Sept. 1778.

Thos. Westgate to Rich. Miles

Enclosing letters that have passed between him and Mr. Smith "on the subject of a very trifling dispute between him and the Pynims of the Fishing Town here. I could not imagine indeed that a Gentleman who had lived so long at Annamaboe before I was so well acquainted with the Temper and disposition of the Fantees, would have differ'd with them for the small Expençe of One Flask of Liquor, as appears by his own Letters." . . . "the Grievances of the Fishing Town Pynims" follow. "They say that whenever they went to pay their Compliments, or as they Phrase it, throw Ackio to Mr. Smith he always treated them with the greatest incivility & Contempt, frequently ran into his room. when he saw them coming and would perhaps after their waiting near half an Hour in his Hall send his Boy out with a Dram to one or two of the principals & no more—that the Day he paid his Customs to the Fantee Town, they repaired to his House for their Share wch has

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ T. 70/1536. 1.

always been customary, and that he turn'd them out contemptuously calling them a pack of Fishermen that had no right to anything—and that from that moment they were resolv'd to make him know better—and had I not interfer'd & requested them to drop their resentment for the present they wou'd not have suffer'd his Canoe to go off on any Account till the Affair was Settled and their Custom paid to their Satisfaction. In short I thought it the most prudent way to temporize with the People especially as I found Principals among the Fantee Town conniv'd at their behaviour; and that they were altogether in a very ill humour from being depriv'd of all Trade and Intercourse with British Shipping.¹³²

T Westgate to Horatio Smith—Annamaboe Fort Sept. 13, 1778.

My advice is therefore now, that if the Fishing Town People should go to you upon any new Palaver to endeavour to settle it with them yourself because I know it is always more pleasing to the Blacks to have a Palaver Settled by the Person concern'd than to refer it to another.¹³³

Rich. Miles to Horatio Smith Cape Coast Castle 15 Sept. 1778.

"It has ever been usual to include them (the Fishing Town-people) in all Customs paid at the Fort, nor can I conceive why they shou'd not; they are equally as numerous and take them in general, as quiet Subjects, and as great Traders. I long liv'd at Annamaboe myself and always found it as necessary to Secure the Good Will of those People as any other Quarter of the Town." . . . "when you consider the present Disposition of the Fantees, out of temper with the whole English Nation, for neglecting (as they call it) their Trade, without making a Grain of Allowance for our Situation in Europe, you will perceive the impropriety of quarrelling with them for trifles." . . . I however beg leave to observe that from the Length of time you have been in this Country, and the knowledge you must naturally have of the Temper and Disposition of the Fantees in general, you will have perceiv'd, that more caution and loss Severity, shou'd be us'd in your Intercourse with them than with any other Set of Blacks on the Coast.¹³⁴

1773-1778

R. Miles to David Mill—Tantumguerry Fort, Aug. 25, 1773.

—The Towns People were very Troublesome and impertinent and indeed at one time insisted on stopping every thing however

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ T. 70/1536. 1.

they thought better of it: and here I cannot help observing to you the very Contrary behaviour of the Lagoe Towns People, who so far from molesting me, gave me every assistance in their Power and help'd to bring a part of Spooners Effects over themselves, whereas had I not had People of my own, Butlers things might have remain'd at Amanda till now for any assistance I cou'd get from such a sett of Bandettis as that Town seems to be composed of.¹³⁵

R. Miles to Thos. Westgate—Tantumguerry Dec. 14, 1773.

I am not fond of meddling with the Black's Palavers as they are very litigious themselves.

R. Miles to Capt. Heblethwaite

Cape Coast Castle May 26, 1778.

No people in Guinea work harder than the Watering People.

R. Miles to H. Smith—Cape Coast Castle Aug. 6, 1778.

I learn Amoony Coomah has been very ill. I sincerely hope he'll recover; I don't know his Fellow in all Arnam^d.¹³⁶

Thomas Trinder to David Mill

Tantumguerry Fort July 3, 1774.

They (the Gombuas) for a long time talk'd of making two Separate Palavers and told me the Amount of what they got for the Winnebah Pallaver alone, which indeed we all know, this they said was for two Towns, & Hinted the Expençe that will attend the Burying two or three Principal People that was killed in this Affair.

Same to same.

Tantumguerry Fort July 19, 1774.

"the whole amount (of Pawns) being 34 of which I have only received 12 tho' they (the Lagoe & Mumford People) Promise fair for the remainder they strongly Plead their Excessive Poverty arising partly from the Number Eloped and those already caught & sold by the Accroons but principally from the great Mortality among them which has very Considerably reduced their Number and of wch within these eight Days I myself have been an Eye Witness."

One thing more must be observed (Q.G. i.e. Quashee Gambia) who is one of the Principal of the Accroans, and who I have employ'd negotiating this matter ever Since I came up has all along been given to understand from me that their Palaver sho'd be settled, provided only that their Demands were reasonable and he now finding I am going away acquaints me that sho'd he return without

¹³⁵ T. 70/1479.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

Payment of the Accroans Demands, they will naturally tell him that he has been only Shuffling with them & all the Time preventing them from Pannyaring and will of course look to him for payment; for these reasons he tells me he cannot return to his own Town untill the affair is finally adjusted & even hints that the Accroans will look upon me as an Aecessary with him in Playing the fool with them sho'd this as it is more than probable may be the Case, it will be exceeding hard indeed upon me, as you are very Sensible I was ordered up here and authorised to do everything in my Power to adjust it.¹³⁷

David Mill to Richard Miles—Cape Coast Castle July 19, 1774.

As this Palaver has been of a long Standing and of Considerable Consequence it will be necessary that the Settlement of it should be as formal according to the Blacks Customs as Possible, and Particularly that the Mumf^d. and Lagoe People shou'd be present to See all the Goods paid away that they may not Pretend in future that they know not what has been Paid. I should also think it necessary that some more of the Accroans besides Quashee Gambia sho'd be present to take Fetish with the Mumford & Lagoe People that all Differences are at an end after the Goods are Paid.

If Quashee Gambia is empower'd by all the Accroans to Settle this matter his taking Fetish will be very Sufficient tho it wou'd be better there were some other of the Principal Accr^s.¹³⁸

Trinder to Miles

Accra 22 Aug. 1774.

I fancy the Assins &ca are disgusted at Q. G.'s arrogating to himself the disposal of 50 of the Goods without their previous consent or knowledge and probably may make him pay for it, which I shall not be sorry for; because he had no right to pay away a Shilling to it, till the rest of the people had assembled.

Miles to Trinder—Tantumguerry Aug 24, 1774.

—My Mess^{rs}. acquainted me that the Assins and Aggumaneens were offended so much at Q. Gambia's being employ'd alone without their being sent to, that had it not been for Q. Quaniah interceeding for him, they would actually have drove him out of the Town.¹³⁹

Thomas Westgate to Rich. Miles—Annamaboe. July 7, 1778.

The Annamaboe people went to assist Tom Coffees party at Aggah and burnt his Enemy's part of their Town plunder'd and

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* This is in the Fantee Country.

¹³⁸ T. 70/1479.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

play'd the Devil, no lives lost as I hear, One of Cobia people shot in the breast is the only damage.

Same to same

Annamaboe July 14, 1778.

Yesterday the linguist and some others came in to acquaint me that there is a run away Co^s Slave Gardener from Cape Coast nam'd Quashee caught at the Salt Pond below Cormantyn, where they demand half-price for his delivery. perhaps you may not have been acquainted with the affair, if so will you please make inquiry and give your orders in the same I do not know the price for a run away Cos Slave caught in Fantee, but probable you do.

Same to same.

The Aggah people burnt out some days since by Tom Coffæes part of the Town, have with what assistance they could get return'd upon them today and p^d them in kind. The Town is now all in Flames and they have been fighting all this morning, but how many kill'd or who Conquerors we have not yet learned. The Annamaboe people w'd not interfere this time.

R. Miles to T. Westgate—Cape Coast Castle July 29, 1778.

. . . Am glad the Annamaboe folks have not interfer'd a 2nd time in the dispute between the Aggahs. I wish they may be able to keep their heads out of the Pallaver all together.

T. Westgate to R. Miles Annamaboe 29 July 1778.

Tom Coffee's H^o and a great part of the Town was burnt down yesterday his Party drove the Enemy back to little Cormantyn. It is said the fight will be renewed again but in all the great Battle yesterday I dont hear more than 2 Men wounded.¹⁴⁰

T. Westgate to R. Miles.

Annamaboe July 31st 1778.

. . . This is the Mulattoe Ladys Auoba dancing day, Scarce one of them that has not begging Allum this week past, to clean their Jewels, so that I suppose they'll make a Brilliant appearance. Ive had fewer Eggs and Yambs this morning, but few tho' of the former the latter all most innumerable, from wch I conclude if they dance I must pay the Piper.

Same to same.

Aug. 1st 1778.

I hope the grand display the Mulattoe Ladys made yesterday of their Charms and Jewels added much to your pleasure. no doubt they knew who was to pay the piper.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ T. 70/1480.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

T. Westgate to R. Miles Annamaboe Aug. 3, 1778.

I am sorry to acquaint you that Amoony Coomah is very Ill. It has been kept rather a Secret untill these 2 days, when I was inform'd of it, and learn'd it was his desire to have some Medicine from me. I found him with a Slave fever, his Stomach much convuls'd and a Constant Hiccup, alarming Complaints! I prepar'd him some Clysters from wch he has had some releif, but still I fear for him.

Same to same.

Aug. 6th 1778.

Amoony is I think something better, he has had nothing of Medicines from me except purging Clysters, and a little oily mixture to take now and then, and I believe they have done him good, his Hiccup returns violently at times and as he's now begun to take Blacks medicines I have ceas'd to order him any further than proper drink & some nourishing spoon meat, to prepare which I detain John Bates as it is Amoony's desire I should still order him things.¹⁴²

R. Miles to T. Westgate Cape Coast Castle Aug 6, 1778.

Fredericks Mama dyed here two days ago and the Town is just now all in an uproar burying her.¹⁴³

T. Westgate to R. Miles—Annamaboe Aug. 26, 1778.

I think as you do that we should demand two Slaves from the Salt Pond Gentry for their Insolence, and I hope you will be able to nab some of them on Roper days.¹⁴⁴

T. Westgate to R. Miles

Sept. 19, 1778.

Tomorrow it seems is a grand Fetish day that prevents all travelling.¹⁴⁵

R. Miles to T. Westgate—Cape Coast Castle, Sept. 2, 1778.

Re a dispute with the Ashanti King and a proposed settlement—

Very just this I'm sure, but his Black Majesty D—n him said that as he was King it was impossible his people could be wrong.

Same to same.

Sept. 4, 1778.

I've at last brought the Genl. (Dutch) to such Terms as we may deem honble on our part all circumstances consider'd. It is that both Towns sh^d bury the affair in oblivion, without either being deem'd wrong. Frederick Aday goes up this night to see both

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ This might be Rosser or Rasser or Raper. I can find no further explanation of it. T. 70/1480.

¹⁴⁵ T. 70/1480.

Thursday, Sept 25, 1777

This Day rec'd a Complaint from Mr. Clemison a free trader settled in this Town here of the Town's People insisting on exorbitant Customs from him: Sent to the Pynims & Settled it finally by Mr. Clemison's giving them an Auker Brandy, & one flask every Sunday Morning—No other Customs whatever—This being the first Freetrader settled here for many Years, these Customs may stand as a Prec^{dt}

Tuesday, Oct. 7, 1777

Rec'd a Letter from Mr. Westgate purporting that the Fantees complain'd I had stopp'd all the ships at Cape Coast & thereby prevented them from their usual Emoluments.

Saturday, Oct, 11, 1777

My Messengers return'd from Amam. with a Letter from Mr. Westgate purporting that the Fantees still insist on Slaves being kept up at Oz 9 z 7 or that they will stop all Trade going to Windw^d.

Sunday, Oct. 12, 1777.

No Divine Service this Day on acc^t of the Town's People making Custom¹⁶¹

Saturday, Oct. 18, 1777.

Rec'd a Letter from Mr. Westgate concerning one of Cum Coffee's (a Fantee Sopho) People having cut his throat on the Head of Billy Cudjoe, a Cabb^r of English Seccundee. . . . At Noon arriv'd here Anmooney Coomch King of Annam, with a numerous retinue of Cabb^{rs}. Pynins &^c to make Custom for Cudjoe, our late Cabb^r. here—Saluted the King with 9 Guns—At 4 in the Afternoon the Custom began—During the course of this Day arriv'd here an amazing Number of Cabb^{rs}. from Diff^r Towns to Windward.

Sunday Oct. 19, 1777

. . . A continual firing kept up Since 4 o Clock yesterday on Acc^t of the Custom. Great Numbers of People continually coming from all Quarters to assist in the Custom—No Divine Service this Day on Acc^t of the Noise of the Guns in Town. . . .

Monday Oct. 20, 1777

In the Mo(rn)ing Six O'clock the Cabb^{rs} Flag was hoisted half Mast.—At 4 in the Afternoon, they appear'd before the Gate with the Coffin, on which occasion fir'd 10 Minute Guns from the Castle. A continual fire of Musquetry kept up in the Town.

¹⁶¹ T. 70/1468-9.

R. Miles to Horatio Smith—Cape Coast Castle—Dec. 9, 1778.

R. Miles to Mr. Ingram—Cape Coast Castle Dec. 10. 1777

H. Smith to R. Miles Smith H^o(usc) April 5, 1779.

R. Miles to Messrs. Collins & Watts—

Cape Coast Castle June 25, 1779.

I doubted very much whether or not /being born free/ there Fathers or families had a right to make slaves of them. /I have enquired very minutely into this point, & find that according to the laws of the Country, no such right is vested in any man whatever, he may pawn, but cannot sell his Child./

T. Westgate to R. Miles Annamaboe May 7, 1779.

Most of Black Gold-takers are expert enough at their business.¹⁵⁰

DIARY OF TRANSACTIONS IN CAPE COAST CASTLE, 1777

Sunday, Sept. 21, 1777

No Divine Service this Day on Account of the Town's People making Custom.

146 *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ T. 70/1479.

148 *Ibid.*

140 *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ T. 70/1481, p. 31.

Tuesday Oct. 21, 1777

At 6 in the Morning arriv'd in Town all the Diff Company's of Soldiers from Annamaboe; at Eight they began firing before the Gate, which continued till near Tach—when they all return'd to Annamaboe. On their arrival here sent them 4 Ankers Rum & on their Departure gave them 2 more.—This Day rec'd Accounts that the Annamaboes had pannyard a Let. & Whydah Canoe belonging to Chamah: Amooney Coomak being here, desir'd him to Dispatch a Mess^r. to enquire into the cause thereof.

Wednesday, Oct. 22, 1777.

Amooney's Mess^r. return'd from Annamaboe with Accounts that the Chamah Canoe had been panniard on a Palaver in which his People, the Morirees of Cormantyni were all jointly concern'd. Great Numbers of People continue to arrive from all Quarters.

Friday Oct. 24, 1777.

. . . A Continual Firing has been kept up in Town almost incessantly since Monday last.

Sunday, Oct. 26, 1777

At 8 this Morning came into the Castle, Amooney Coomah, the Ando Pynins, and almost every Cabbocceer belonging to Annamaboe to talk with me respecting the Price of Slaves: I argued this amazing bad Voyage that had been lately made: the repeated orders I had rec'd from my Constituents, & the great Scarcity of Goods pointed out the Necessity of my taking such a Step: I further observ'd to them that at my first fixing the Price at 8 oz 6 Oz no clamour or noise was made; that on the contrary several Slaves had been sold at that Price; & that it certainly wou'd have taken place, but for Capt Muir's arrival, to which they all assented: I then ask'd them the Reason why now, more than at any other time, they shou'd on Acct. of my attempting to reduce the Price, threaten to stop all Communication between this & Annamaboe; that I was only doing my Duty & that if they did not chuse to come into my Measures, I sho^d. not force them to sell at my Price & that consequently it was equally unjust their insisting on their Price of 9 z 7 Oz. They acknowledg'd they had threatned to do so, but denied that they had not yet taken any step towards it; & further agreed that they wou'd not, but that all shou'd remain quiet, untill either the Europeans chuse to raise the Price, or the Blacks agree to the price now offer'd: Capt. Muir being determin'd to try a little longer whe^t. they will come into the fix'd Price of 8 z 6 Oz. I dismissed them

on their making the above Declaration in presence of myself & Mr. Neuves.

N. B.—On taxing them with the other Part of their Message to me contain'd in Mr. Westgate's letter of the 11th Inst., mentioning to them the impropriety of their Application to Mr. Westgate instead of me I pointed out to them every Ship that had arriv'd since the commencement of my Government here, & desir'd them to name which of them had been detain'd by me; they cou'd pitch on no one: I ask'd them if they meant Cap^t. King or Cap^t. Smith: I observ'd to them, that when a Ship arriv'd here, they certainly had it in their choice either to deal with the Europeans or the Natives; that Cap^t. King's Cargo had been mosly divided among the former & that the latter altho' he lay all the time in Cape Coast Road: had dealt chiefly with the Natives: They seem'd perfectly satisfied with the propriety of my Argument, & observ'd only in general terms, that it was very hard times on Account of the Shipping keeping away.¹⁵²

Thursday, October 30, 1777.

A Continual firing kept up in Town.

Friday, October 31, 1777

The firing and Noise in Town mostly over. . . . This Day Aben, Aggerie, Tom Coffin & Sundry others went on board the Adventure in this Road & agreed with Capt. Muir at 8½ Men & 6½ Wom. At 1 O clock they all came on Shore, as did the Cap^t. to acquaint me every thing was settled. At Six in the Evening Capt. Muir told me that the Fantees having heard of the French Ship (now at Elmina) having an intention to trade at Annam^e had declar'd they wou'd not sell at 8½ & 6½. I sent out to acquaint Amooney Coomah of the Pynins that altho' I cou'd not force them to sell at that Price, that they might nevertheless rest assur'd that I shod prevent (as much as lay in my Power) their Intercourse with the French Ship: I rec'd for Answer that they wou'd wait on me in the Morning.

Saturday, November 1, 1777.

This Morning Amooney Coomah of the Pynins of Annamaboe came in & acquainted me that altho they had agreed with Capt. Muir at 8½ & 6½, still they cou'd not answer for all the Fantee Country: that the Custom here being now over, they intended to proceed this Day to Annamaboe; that on their Arrival there they wou^d. send to Aborah & Murram to acq^t. all Fantee of what terms

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

had been offer'd them & that in a Day or two at furthest, I sho'd receive a Message from them on this business.

Sunday, November 3, 1777

No Divine Service on Acc^t of the Custom.

Thursday, November 6, 1777

Came Messengers from Ammoonney Coomah & the Pynins of Annamabce acquainting me that the Aborah & Murram People would not accept Capt. Muir's offer of 8½ & 6½.

Sunday, December 14, 1777.

No Divine Service this Day on Account of the Town's People making Custom for the Drummajor who died Yesterday.

Thursday, January 1st, 1778.

The Cabbocceers came in to Pay their Respects, & to wish me a happy new Year.

Saturday, March 7, 1778.

Receiv'd a Message from the Annaqua Town's People complg that the Achafo's (a Powerfull inland People) had attack'd their Town & begg'd to be trusted with Guns & Powdr. to defend themselves; declin'd giving them the Assistance they demanded from a Motive that it wo'd rather tend to make the Affair worse, but offerd my Mediation to accommodate Matters: Sent a Present with my Message to the Annaqua People.

Tuesday, August 25, 1778.

In the Evg about Seven O clock a large Canoe was overset by a Gust of Wind off the Castle: Sent off 2 Canoes to assist them perceiving the Town's People were also launching several Canoes in order as usual in such Cases to plunder the Effects & panniar the Canoemen. I order'd the upper Gate of the Castle to be shut; A Guard with several of the Officers to attend at the Waterside & see the Effects & Canoemen br^t. safe in to the Castle: About 8 got all on shore vizt. 10 Canoemen & 1 Servant with 8 Rolls Tob^o & 4 Casks Bottled Liq^r. whc prov'd to be a Canoe belonging to the Chief of Mornee.

Wednesday, August 26, 1778.

Sent the Canoemen & Effects down to Mornee. Gave the Pynins of the Town who attended at the Waterside last Night 2 Ankers Liq^r. & our own Peop^le one, to encourage them to exert themselves in future & to abolish if possible the wile Custom of seizing Effects & People in similar distress.

Saturday, Sept. 12, 1778.

The Danes Gov^r. & Council in their l^r having mention'd Amooney Coomah as one of the Cabb^{rs}. who consented to their settling at Mumford.—(he was sent for to explain what he meant)

Saturday, Dec^r. 26, 1778.

Bolty, Aggerie & Fred. came in to inform me that the Annamaboe Town's People (who on the 12th Inst. had panniard some Cape Coast People on acct. of Coffee Aboo's Palaver with Amooney Coomah) had demanded as a Satisfaction for a suppos'd or pretended Offence (as they knew of no real one) a Man Slave to have his head taken off 10 oz Goods 5 Sheep & oz 6:12 Gold; that since Cudjoe's Death the Annamaboes had on several Occasions impos'd on the Cape Coasts, but that in the present Case they were determin'd to take their own parts & were going to dispatch Messengers to inform them so; I objected to this Message being sent, until I had first tried what effect a Message from me might have—I accordingly sent down a Messenger of my own, pointing out in as forcible terms as possible the impropriety as well as injustice of their Demand and desir'd them to Settle the Affair in an amicable manner tow^{ds} which End I offer'd myself as Mediator between the two.

Monday, December 28, 1778.

The Mess^r. return'd from Annamaboe with a Message from Amooney & the Ando Pynins that in consequence of my interfering they had made up the Affair bet. them and the Cape Coasts.¹⁵³

Sunday, April 30, 1780

The Cabboccers and Pynins of Annishan brought me a Sheep on taking their leave of me previous to my Departure.

Note they gave Mr. Roberts one and Mr. Weuver one.

Monday, May 1

The King of Abninboe came to pay me his respects [& brought me a Sheep] previous to my leaving this.¹⁵⁴

FROM A DIARY OF PROCEEDINGS AT CAPE APPOLONIA, FROM MARCH 21, 1780

Tuesday, April 25, 1780.

The Pynins are here described (i. e., old men).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ T. 70/1471.

Saturday, April 29, 1780.

Pynins (i. e., old men the Town Council) the Caboceers became sureties for their (canoemen's) due Performance of their agreement.

Sunday, April 30, 1780.

2 P. M. the Annishan Caboceers and Counsellors came to congratulate me on my return to the Coast and taking the Command of this Castle.

Wednesday, May 3, 1780.

Nine A. M. Antee Coffee King of Abramoe came in the Castle with his Attendants and this Town's Cabbocceers and their Counsellors to take his Leave on going home, he asked for an Arrear of Pay that was due to his Predecessor for 10 Years at 4 £ Sterg. or £4 in Trade Money per Month, told him I could not pay it tho' he brought a written Agreement of Mr. Mills he had given the deceased King; he then asked me to give him a Note of the same Tenor—Called the Caboceers—and Linguist into another Room asked them the Reason for Mr. Mill granting the 4 Ackies per month? They answered: "That he was a Man of great Interest in the Country haveing the Command of Five Towns, and had a Power equal or superior to a King that was in the Dutch Interest who had about the same Number of Towns also when there was a Dispute between the English and Dutch about the landing Place at Commenda, it was thought necessary by the Governor and Council to send 1000 Black soldiers to support the Brittish Interest there, who could not go on the Common Road Elmina Castle being on the Way to prevent them, which obliged them to march thro' the Abramoe, which they were enabled to do from the Interest and Power the King had with the Natives, on that Acco^t Mr. Mill was induced to give him the Note; the Cabbocceers further said the present King had equal Power and Interest with the People the other had, and would be serviceable hereafter if wanted on similar or any other Occasion when any Encroachments were made by the Dutch or Natives in those Countries: I judged it proper to give him an Argreement to pay him on the Public Account, Four Ackies per Month, as when a King or a Man of Power and Interest get a Note it makes them of Consequence in the Country.

Wednesday May 17, 1780

6 A. M. a Messenger from Amoney Coomah informing that one Griffith a Free Trader had bought a Man belonging to the Fantee

Country from the Dutch Chief of Assam, that if he was sold off the Coast it would cause great Disturbance in the Country and much Expense. Therefore desired I would use every Means to induce Griffith to let him be redeemed, for which he Amoney Coomah had sent Ozs 5 Gold

Monday, June 19, 1780

Nine A. M. Aggerry Cabboccer came in the Castle with the Dutch Chief of Mouree's Messenger, to inform a Mulattoe Soldier I gave leave to go to Mouree Town had seized a Black Man contrary to the Laws of the Country, for no one can seize another on a Sunday for a Debt; it is held a very high Crime, and if a Black Man does he is sold for a Slave or must pay a very great Price to prevent it; however as John Peter was a Mulattoe Soldier belonging to the Company, the Dutch Chief interfered and settled the Dispute for an Anker & two Gallons Brandy £ 2.10
with Two Paper Brawls 1

Company's Pay £ 3.10

which will be stop'd from John Peters Pay.¹⁵⁵

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CASTLE'S FORTS AND SETTLEMENTS
BELONGING TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY OF
ENGLAND ON THE GOLD COAST

Dixcove

The Country that runs along the Shore on which this Castle stands is still called the Hantee Country, and the Village under its protection is by the Blacks called Infuma, which divides itself into Two, and is distinguished by the great and little Infuma; in both which, and in the Villages dependent immediately upon them, there is Computed to be about two thousand Souls. Its Situation as to Trade was some years past reckoned very Advantageous, (the Country of Warsaw lying not above 3 or 4 days Journey behind it,) and would still have continued so, had not formerly a Quarrel between Apocho King of Asiantee, and Entufero King of Warsaw not only in some measure stop't up the Bath, but Obliged Entufero to remove his Residence to a part of his Country more to the Leeward; which naturally carried with it all the Trade that would otherwise have flowed here. . . . The Cove has heretofore too been famous for producing Lime Stone:—but it has of late years been found there in such small Quantities, as would by no means answer the Expence of Procuring and conveying it. The present

Chief however has lately been so fortunate as to discover a Cove between 5 and 6 Miles to Windward, which gives him more than a probable Assurance of being able to Load a ship of 200 Tun in 12 Or 14 days; alowing that he is supplied with Slaves, Canoes and other proper Helps for Collecting and Shipping it.

.....
Fish is not found here in such abundance as might be expected from so fine a Cove, which possibly gives but little encouragement to the Natives to try for it, as you seldom see above 5 or 6 Canoes out in a Morning.

Commenda.

The Situation as to Trade was heretofore, and would still have been very Advantageous, had not the Dutch built a little Fort at Chama (a Village about Ten Miles from hence bearing W. by N.) upon the very Spot where all the Paths divide themselves that communicate the Asiantee Trade to this part of the Coast, which undoubtedly offers to Sale more Slaves than any other Country known to the Europeans: Gold and Teeth: as they are the Produce of Warsaw and Dinkara (Countries that lie to the Windward) have not so free a passage as to the Forts more immediately in their Way.

... [They have had to add to the Walls of the fort] That it might the better keep under or secure People grown obnoxious to their Neighbours, as well as Troublesome to the Chiefs by their Numbers: Particularly as they have by the Indolence of their Nature no other Employment to keep them from Mischief, but Fishing, which at this place abounds so plentifully, that threescore or Fourscore Canoes are generally every Morning to be seen within a small Compass of the Fort engaged wholly in it.

Tantumquerry

..... The Number of Inhabitants are Computed at not above 1000 Souls, but of such a turbulent and lawless Disposition as makes it very difficult for the Chiefs to keep them under any tolerable Subjection.

The Situation of this Castle as to Trade when it is not infested with Disputes between the Up-Country and See Coast Natives has always been look't upon to be as good as any of the Leeward Forts; as the Akims constantly bring down their Commodities of Gold and Slaves to a Weekly Market not above 33 Miles from hence, bearing N. by E called Mennan in the Country of Enquina from whence they are conveyed by the Fantyns, [the general Name the

Inhabitants of this part of the Coast bear] to the Forts by the Waterside, of which this of Tantomquerry is not the least Considerable.

Winenbah

. . . As this is the Market from whence all the Trade is brought that comes to this Fort, it would naturally give it the Advantage, did not the continual disputes of the Natives generally put a stop to it; For these late Years the Inhabitants of Simpa [for so Winnebah is called by the Natives] have been so embroiled with their Neighbours, that they mutually fear, and of Consequence never venture to have any Intercourse with each other.

Accra

and certain it is, that when the Natives can agree among themselves, it has always been esteemed the best upon the Coast for Gold and Teeth, Slaves do not come here in such Quantities as to the Forts to Windward, but they are much better.

The Fishery about here is generally very good, or at least would be so, were not the Inhabitants a too Lazy set of People even to get themselves Provision at the Expence of their own Labour. It is but very lately that they even attempted to plant Corn, in a Country, which undoubtedly promises as well or better than any under the Protection of the more windward Forts: it is true they heretofore employed themselves in making of Salt, for which there was formerly a great demand here, but as that decreast, they were very hardly brought to cultivate their Land for Corn to keep them from Starving, it is even now often so scarce there, that they gladly purchase it with gold, and that too at a Price four times its first Cost.

The little Shade there is in this open Country probably never Tempted any of the Chiefs to Pitch upon a Spot of Ground for a Garden, or at least gave them no Encouragement to keep it up: however there is about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an Acre of Ground staked in, where the Chiefs attempt [tho' I believe in vain] to raise a few greens for their Table.

Whydah

(The soil is uncultivated) having been for these last twelve years a continual Seat of War. Heretofore Report assures us, that while the Whydahs possess't it, the Land produced as great if not greater Quantities of Corn etc. than any of the Guinea Countries along the Coast. It is almost from this Time too that the Trade has gradually decreast, at least so soon after as the King of

Dahome began to find the Value of the Commodities, which he at first in the Gayety of his Conquests so luxuriantly Bartered for any thing that bore the Stamp of Europe: insomuch that it is now Confined only to the Slave Trade, which declines too in proportion with the power of the King of Dahome, which is at present at so low an Ebb, that it has been lately employed and even often without Success, upon his own, or his Tributary Subjects. These disappointments have made him so fond of Gold, that he will not only not part with any himself, but forbids on Pain of Death, and [sic] of his Subjects to Trade with it for any Commodity whatsoever. However as the Slave Trade is till left open to the Natives, there is always something going on, by its being almost the only part of the Coast, which produces such Slaves as suit the Delicacy of the Portuguese, who undoubtedly bring the greatest part of the Gold that is to be met with here. As it [the Country about this fort] is at present in the hands of the King of Dahome, it will be the last part of his Kingdom he will part with, as he well knows the advantage of keeping up the Fort upon a Trading Footing: And yet the Chief is subjected to many disagreeable Compliances to his Commands, which would be below the Dignity of a White Man upon this Coast, did not Necessity oblige him to it. The Distance of his Residence at Ardah, being not above 27 Miles [bearing N. E. by N.] the king summons the Chief upon most Trifeling Occasions, sometimes more only to attend the Superstitious Ceremonies of his Religion.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ T. 70/1470.